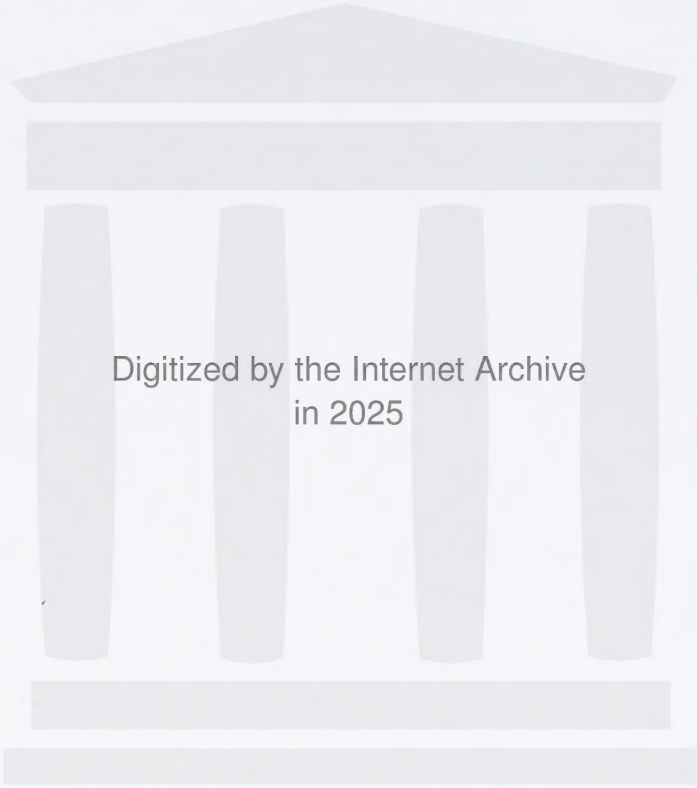
Memoirs Of The Rise, Progress And Persecutions Of The People Called Quakers In The North Of Scotland

John Barclay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MEMOIRS

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS AND PERSECUTIONS

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,

IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND,

By JOHN BARCLAY.

"We have heard with our ears, O God! our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old." Psalms, xliv. 1.
"We will not hide them from our children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done." Psalms, lxxviii. 4.
"Great have been the mercies of our God! for which, future generations shall praise him, and children yet unborn magnify his name." *Ury Record.*

PHILADELPHIA:

NATHAN KITE— 50 NORTH FOURTH STREET.

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1835.

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INTRODUCTION.

[In the English edition of this work, it was preceded by the Diary of Alexander Jaffray, one of the earliest members of the Society of Friends in Scotland, and terminating a short time previous to his becoming one of that people. This note will serve to explain the references which occur to that diary.—Am. Ed.]

My design in the present publication, had its origin in the following circumstances.—The Diary breaks off abruptly, and only a short time before Alexander Jaffray, together with a number of his intimate associates settled in the profession of the Friends. It was to be regretted, that the narrator had not carried forward his account as far as this interesting period in his experience, or rather perhaps that such account had not been spared to us. On examining, however, more closely into the MS. Chronicle, which has been before mentioned as being discovered at Ury,* and which treats of the Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers in the north of Scotland, this loss appears to be in some measure compensated, by a regular and connected detail of their history, expressly collected for the use of posterity. For although, in the course of it, no large portion has allusion to our worthy Diarist himself; yet I found, that, not only in these parts but in every other, is held up to view, a glowing exemplification of many of those very themes of meditation and sentiment, upon which he had so largely dwelt. And besides this, on looking into the records kept by the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Aberdeen, a remarkable fact appeared, namely, that the Author of the Diary himself, only a year before his own decease, was the first to set his hand to the work of preparing this ancient document; and that, after that event,

* The author had previously mentioned that, while on a visit at the residence of Robert Barclay, he discovered in one corner of his Library the manuscript "Account of the Rise, Progress, and Persecutions of the people called Quakers in the north of Scotland," which furnished the materials for the following work.—Am. Ed.

his son Andrew in particular, together with "the Apologist" and others, became a chief contributor.

These things thus coming to my knowledge and to my charge, perhaps it was not very unnatural for me to conclude, such memorials of the just were not designed to be buried in oblivion; but were equally calculated for the service of the present, as for generations that had gone before. Neither could I, in reference to them, divest myself of the feeling of a trust consigned to me, (however unworthy,) for this end,—namely, to bear them forth, as a testimony, to the church and to the world. The religious Society of Friends has ever had a high sense of the obligation there is, to treasure up and to proclaim such evidences of the faithfulness of the Most High in his dealings with his children; and they have ever considered themselves as subjects and witnesses of his redeeming mercy and all-sufficient grace in Jesus Christ. In confirmation of this position, may be brought forward the language of William Penn at the beginning of his Preface to Robert Barclay's Works. "Our blessed Lord having effectually gathered and fed his people by his disciples in this generation, it is a duty we owe to God and ourselves, as well as to them, that we gather up the remainder of their testimonies of love and service, that so nothing be lost."

The foregoing being the acknowledged ground-work of the ensuing Memoirs, it may be added, that various original and other sources have been consulted in the present compilation. Besse, in forming his "Collection of the Sufferings of Friends," 1753, evidently had access to a copy of the above record; and Gough, in his History, 1790, takes his chief authority from Besse; but both these accounts of the affairs of the Society in Scotland are defective and incorrect. In the arrangement of the materials for the present division of this volume, very little liberty of composition has been indulged in; so that the reader is here furnished with a faithful, and in many places almost a literal transcript of events, oftentimes expressed in nearly the words of the eye-witnesses. So far, then, as applies to the correctness of the details themselves, and even the mode of stating them, I consider myself divested of responsibility; at the same time, the Society of Friends, as a body, are not *committed* by the reflections interspersed among those

details. Some of the accounts, of rather an extraordinary nature, are here represented in the light of direct Providential interpositions: and it may possibly be thought, that matters of this kind, as well as the comments upon them, had better have been wholly excluded, or at least not turned to so high an account. But, let it be observed, how much more chargeable an author would have been, himself a member of this religious community, had he been disposed to expunge from their History, a feature so well known and so fully sanctioned, not only in all their recorded annals, but in most of their standard publications.

There may also be those, who, in perusing these recollections of earlier days, would incline to think, that the unchristian conduct and principles, which appear at one time to have governed any individuals or set of men, had better not be thus revived, lest it should seem too much like aggravating occasions of repulsion among the followers of the same Lord. This objection, however, must apply with equal weight to all other subjects of history, and would have its parallel in every age of the church. But, it should be distinctly understood, that the controversy of the people called Quakers never was against any set of men, as such; on the contrary, they always loved and esteemed that which is excellent and of good report in all; and if such classes or persons, on whom any degree of opprobrium has rested, testify against the conduct of those that have given cause for it, their system of religious policy is not by any means chargeable with faults, that have been disowned by them, and condemned:—although this very course has been pursued towards the Friends, by some whose character ranks well in the estimation of the public. —See Joseph Gurney Bevan's Refutation of some of the more modern Misrepresentations of the Friends.—Such instances, however, of individuals, who have in any wise failed of the grace of God, must not be expected, nor are they often allowed, altogether to go into oblivion; they more ordinarily remain,—as the stranded vessel or as the warning beacon,—a sea-mark to deter the ignorant or too daring mariner; nor (to drop the metaphor) would any of these, when brought into a penitent and reformed state, even desire to have it otherwise, if they are of the apostle Paul's way of thinking on this subject. 1 Tim. i. 12 to 16.

It is, moreover, due to the memory of those, who, in the spirit of their meek and self-denying Saviour, "endured such contradiction of sinners against" themselves, that the temper and tendency of that age should be manifested;—otherwise, very superficial and incorrect notions might be readily taken up respecting them; and the peculiar line of behaviour, so uniformly observed by these true friends of the true spiritual liberty, might be greatly misunderstood. This remark leads to the notice of one trait, in particular, which has ever been, and I believe must ever be attributable to the real "Quaker," and which is strikingly apparent throughout the greater part of these memoirs: namely, an unconceding and close adherence to that course of conduct, which their sense of duty has at any time indicated. Clarkson, in his "Portraiture" of us, has adverted to it in these words.—"It was observed, in the time of George Fox, of the members of this Society, that they were as stiff as trees; and this idea concerning them has come down to the present day. The origin of this defective feature must be obvious to all. The Quakers, as we have seen, will neither pay tithes, nor perform military service, nor illuminate their houses, like other people, though they are sure of suffering by their refusing to comply with custom in these cases. Now, when individuals, few in number, become singular, and differ from the world at large, it is generally considered, that the majority are in the right, and that the minority are in the wrong. But, obstinacy may be defined to be a perseverance in that which is generally considered to be wrong. This epithet has attached, and will attach to those, who resist the popular opinion, till men are better educated, or till they lose their prejudices, or have more correct and liberal notions on religion. The early Christians were themselves accused of obstinacy, and this even by the enlightened Pliny. He tells us, that they would not use wine and frankincense before the statues of the emperors; and that there was no question, that for such obstinacy they deserved punishment. In judging of this trait, two questions will arise: First, Whether the members of this Society, in adhering rigidly to those singularities which have produced it, are really wrong as a body of Christians? And, secondly, whether they do not conscientiously believe themselves to be right?

In the case of the early Christians, which has been mentioned, we who live at this day, have no doubt, that Pliny put a false estimation on their character. We believe them to have done their duty, and we believe also that they considered themselves as doing it, when they refused divine honours to the emperors. The action, therefore, which Pliny denominated obstinacy, would, if it had been left to us to name it, have been called inflexible virtue, as arising out of a sense of the obligation imposed upon them by the Christian religion. In the same manner we may argue with respect to the Quakers."—Vol. iii. p. 248. But this candid writer, in an earlier page, has himself given the best explanation of their motives:—and may such motives and such line of conduct ever continue to prevail individually in their hearts, and collectively in their assemblies! "It has been," says he, "an established rule with them, from the formation of the Society, not to temporise, or to violate their consciences; or, in other words, not to do that which, as a body of Christians, they believe to be wrong, though the usages of the world, or the government of the country under which they live, should require it; but rather to submit to the frowns and indignation of the one, and the legal penalties annexed to their disobedience by the other. This suffering, in preference to the violation of their consciences, is what they call, 'the bearing of their testimony,' or a demonstration to the world by the testimony of their own example, they consider it to be the duty of Christians rather to suffer, than have any concern with that which they conceive to be evil. The Quakers, in putting this principle into practice, stand, I believe, alone; for I know of no other Christians, (unless it be the Moravians,) who, as a body, pay this homage to their scruples, or who determine upon an ordeal of suffering in preference to a compromise with their ease and safety." "This noble practice of bearing testimony, by which a few individuals attempt to stem the torrent of immorality by opposing themselves to its stream, and which may be considered as a living martyrdom, does, in a moral point of view, a great deal of good to those who conscientiously adopt it. It recalls first principles to their minds. It keeps in their remembrance the religious rights of man. It teaches them to reason upon principle, and to make their

estimates by a moral standard. It is productive both of patience and of courage. It occasions them to be kind, and attentive, and merciful to those who are persecuted and oppressed. It throws them into the presence of the Divinity, when they are persecuted themselves. In short, it warms their moral feelings, and elevates their religious thoughts. Like oil it keeps them from rusting. Like a whet-stone, it gives them a new edge. Take away this practice from the constitution of the members of this Society, and you pull down a considerable support of their moral character."—"It is a great pity," continues this worthy and enlightened philanthropist, "that, as professing Christians, we should not more of us incorporate this noble principle individually into our religion. We concur unquestionably in customs, through the fear of being reputed singular, of which our hearts do not always approve; though nothing is more true, than that a Christian is expected to be singular, with respect to the corruptions of the world. What an immensity of good would be done, if cases of persons, choosing rather to suffer than to temporize, were so numerous as to attract the general notice of men! Would not every case of suffering operate as one of the most forcible lessons that could be given, to those who should see it! And how long would that infamous system have to live, which makes a distinction between political expediency and moral right?" p. 198.

This brings me to the subject of persecution and suffering for conscience sake, of which the early history of the Friends in general, and these memoirs in particular, present so full a series of illustrations. And on this point, I cannot but consider it of much importance, that the sentiments conveyed by Robert Barclay should be here revived, and, though at some length, brought under the notice of my readers. He observes, that the occasion which obtained reputation for Christians of old under persecution, was, their willingness to suffer, being innocent, while by principle they precluded themselves from injuring any; whereas, says he, "there is little reason to pity one, who is but dealt by, according as he would deal with others." Such a doctrine as this last instance involves, would make, (as Barclay proceeds to show,) "all suffering for religion, which of old was the glory of Christians, to be but of pure

necessity; whereby, they are not led as lambs to the slaughter, as was the Captain of their salvation, but rather as wolves catched in the snare, who only bite not again, because they are not able, but, could they get force, would be as ready to lead those the same way, that lead them. Where is the faith and patience of the saints? For, indeed, it is but a small glory to make a virtue of necessity, and suffer because I cannot help it. Every thief and murderer is a martyr, at that rate; experience hath abundantly proved this in these last centuries."

Having thus cleared his way, this author proceeds to show, that the true ground of persecution is, an unwillingness to suffer; "for," says he, "no man that would persecute another for his conscience, would suffer for his own, if he could avoid it; seeing, his principle obliges him, if he had power, by force to establish that which he judges is the truth, and so to force others to it." With these preliminary remarks, may be introduced the succeeding important sentiments; and, though written before the time when Friends in Scotland had to endure a large portion of their ill-treatment, they are, nevertheless, equally and very specially applicable to the troubles, which so quickly after came upon them.——"Therefore I judge it meet, briefly to add something in this place concerning the nature of true Christian sufferings; whereunto a very faithful testimony has been borne by God's witnesses, whom he hath raised up in this age,—beyond what has been generally known or practised for these many generations, yea, since the apostacy took place. Yet, it is not my design here, in any wise to derogate from the sufferings of the Protestant martyrs; whom I believe to have walked towards God, according to the dispensation of light in that day appearing; and of whom, many were utter enemies to persecution, as by their testimonies against it might be made to appear.

"But the true, faithful, and Christian suffering, is, for men to profess what they are persuaded is right, and so practise and perform their worship towards God, as being their true right so to do; and neither to do more in that, because of outward encouragement from men, nor any whit less, because of the fear of their laws and acts against it. Thus, for a Christian man to vindicate his just liberty, with so much boldness and yet innocency, will in due time,

though through blood, purchase peace; as this age has in some measure experienced, and many are witnesses of it, which yet shall be more apparent to the world, as truth takes place in the earth. But they greatly sin against this excellent rule, that, in time of persecution, do not profess their own way so much as they would, if it were otherwise; and yet, when they can get the magistrate upon their side, not only stretch their own liberty to the utmost, but seek to establish the same by denying it to others.

"But, of this excellent patience and sufferings, the witnesses of God in scorn called Quakers, have given a manifest proof. For, as soon as God revealed his truth among them, without regard to all opposition, or what they might meet with, they went up and down as they were moved of the Lord, preaching and propagating the truth in market-places, highways, streets, and public temples, though daily beaten, whipped, bruised, haled, and imprisoned therefore. And when there was any where a church or assembly gathered, they taught them to keep their meetings openly, and not to shut the door, nor do it by stealth; that all might know it, and who would might enter. And as, hereby, all just occasion of fear of plotting against the government was fully removed, so this their courage and faithfulness, in not giving over their meeting together—(but more especially the presence and glory of God manifested in the meeting, being terrible to the consciences of the persecutors)—did so weary out the malice of their adversaries, that oftentimes they were forced to leave their work undone. For when they came to break up a meeting, they were [obliged] to take every individual out by force, they not being free to give up their liberty, by dissolving at their command: and when they were haled out, unless they were kept forth by violence, they presently returned peaceably to their place. Yea, when sometimes the magistrates have pulled down their meeting-houses, they have met the next day openly upon the rubbish; and so, by innocency kept their possession and ground, being properly their own, and their right to meet and worship God being not forfeited to any. So that, when armed men have come to dissolve them, it was impossible for them to do it, unless they had killed every one; for they stood so close together, that no force could move any one to stir, until violently pulled

down: so that, when the malice of their opposers stirred them to take shovels, and throw the rubbish upon them,—there they stood, unmoved; being willing, if the Lord should so permit, to have been there buried alive, witnessing for him. As this patient, but yet courageous way of suffering, made the persecutors' work very heavy and wearisome unto them; so the courage and patience of the sufferers, using no resistance, nor bringing any weapons to defend themselves, nor seeking any ways revenge upon such occasions, did secretly smite the hearts of the persecutors, and make their chariot wheels go on heavily. Thus, after much and many kind of sufferings thus patiently borne, which to rehearse would make a volume of itself; (which may in due time be published to the nations, for we have them upon record;) a kind of negative liberty has been obtained, so that, at present, for the most part we meet together without disturbance from the magistrate.

"But, on the contrary, most Protestants, when they have not the allowance and tolerance of the magistrate, meet only in secret, and hide their testimony; and if they be discovered, if there be any probability of making their escape by force, though it were by cutting off those that seek them out, they will do it: whereby, they lose the glory of their sufferings, by not appearing as the innocent followers of Christ, nor having a testimony of their harmlessness in the hearts of their pursuers;—their fury by such resistence is the more kindled against them. As to the last part, of their resisting such as persecute them, they can lay claim to no precept from Christ, nor any example of him or his apostles approved." Apology, Prop. xiv. sect. 6.

A late writer on political rights and obligations, might well affirm, that "The Reformation prospered more by the resolute non-compliance of its supporters, than if all of them had provided themselves with swords and pistols." He adds, "The most severely persecuted body of Christians, which this country has in latter ages seen, was a body who never raised the arm of resistance. They wore out that iron rod of oppression, which the attrition of violence might have wetted into a weapon, that would have cut them off from the earth;—and they now reap the fair fruit of

their principles, in the enjoyment of privileges from which others are still debarred." Essays on the Principles of Morality, &c. by Jonathan Dymond.

It is, then, to a recital of such circumstances as these, under which a *small* portion of this *small* class of dissenters, had their origin and became established in the north of Scotland, that my readers are now invited.—However generally despised this class once were, however despicable they may still seem to many, and must always continue to be in the estimation of the thoughtless, the worldly, the profane,—and even in the opinion of those, who are the self-seeking and self-satisfied professors of religion; there is, I believe, solid ground for the assumption, that the more they adhere to first principles, the more uniformly and conspicuously they will prove as salt that has not lost its savour,—as a little leaven, that is calculated to diffuse its wholesome influence wherever distributed. Can any among the successors of such a people, be willingly indifferent with regard to the transactions of those times, when their predecessors, instructed and strengthened from on high, first broke through the host of impediments by which they were surrounded, and notwithstanding "a fight of afflictions," succeeded in rearing this standard of Truth among the nations? And, indeed, there are those "not of this fold," whose eyes have been truly anointed to see; so that they cannot but unite in the substance and general ground of that spiritual testimony, which has in a special manner been delivered to us. Some readers of this description, fully prepared to admire the unfoldings of heavenly light on the mind of Jaffray, may, it is hoped, be led to follow him with increasing interest in the Memoirs; these will be qualified, with him and many others, to enter into the force of such an acknowledgment as the following.—"Indeed it was great matter of satisfaction to our hearts, when the Lord turned us to his Truth, that we found it no new thing, but that which we had witnessed in the days of our former profession. For, we well remembered, that we had been acquainted with it then; and God now gives us the true and certain sense, that all the prayers, and knowledge, and understanding of the Scriptures, faith, love, zeal, meekness, patience, humility, and whatever we then

had, which was dear unto us, and precious in the eye of God, came from this spirit of life, this principle of life which God hath now manifested to us, and turned our minds unto."—Penington's Letters, 2nd edit. p. 9. By such individuals, above alluded to, as well as by the Society of Friends, the several valuable epistles and other documents interspersed through their history, will doubtless be viewed as so many lively tokens of the condition of this portion of the Church of Christ; and may, I trust, be accepted as forming no unsubstantial addition to their stock of religious reading. On the other hand, those who are much strangers to us, and have been under misapprehensions as to our early proceedings or character, may very probably find many obstructing clouds cleared away from their minds by a candid perusal of these pages.

I have only, in conclusion to add,—my sincere and earnest prayer has been unto the Author and Giver of all good, that, through his Divine blessing, which can give success to the feeblest efforts, this collection may, according to the abundance of his grace in Christ Jesus, our Redeemer, redound to his own praise!

JOHN BARCLAY.

Croydon, 2nd month, 1833.

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MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

1653: Rise of the Society of Friends in Scotland—their first Meetings and Ministers—1662: Alexander Jaffray and others at Aberdeen join them—Meetings established at Inverury, Ardiharrald, and Kinmuck—George Gray—1663-4: imprisonment of Richard Rae, George Keith, and Patrick Livingston—Alexander Jaffray summoned before the High Commission Court, examined by Archbishop Sharpe, and fined, &c.

In the south of Scotland, as in the north, there were individuals, whose minds had been for some years more or less affected with deep religious concern. Weary and heavy-laden under a sense of their own manifold short-comings, they yet believed there was to be known, a more purely spiritual way of worship, and of life and conduct, than that which they, or any with whose profession they were acquainted, had arrived at. Deeply burdened with the formality, superstition, and will-worship prevalent around them, and under which the various public preachers too generally detained their hearers, these serious inquirers had separated from the several congregations of the people; and at length some of them began to meet together by themselves, waiting upon God in a holy silence and awful humility of soul, for ability to draw nigh unto him in true spiritual worship. On these occasions, they were at times made sensible of the quickening virtue, power, and life of the Holy Spirit, enabling some of them to speak forth the praises of the Almighty, and from an inward experience of his goodness, to extend instrumentally a hand of help to others.

Such religious meetings in the south of Scotland,

after the manner of the people called Quakers, appear to have been held at a place called Drumbowy, and also at Heads, as early as the year 1653: and the first experimental preachers, in this manner raised up from among them, were William Osborne, a colonel in the army, Richard Ree, or rather Rae, and Alexander Hamilton. It is distinctly stated, that these meetings had been established for the full space of a year, before any in connexion with the Friends found them out and visited them. So that if, as it would seem, James Nayler had preached in Scotland at least two years earlier than this date, it must be concluded that he did not fall in with this little flock. See *Appendix*, A. They had not then, as yet, been recognized by the Society of Friends in England, nor had they received instrumental encouragement, except from those of their own number, to persevere in the course so remarkably opened before them.

Very soon, however, were the feet of several gospel messengers from England turned in this direction; as, Christopher Fell, George Wilson, John Grave, George Atkinson, Sarah Cheevers, and Catherine Evans. In the year 1654, Miles Halhead and James Lancaster travelled into Scotland; and in the succeeding year, William Caton and John Stubbs. George Fox was at Edinburgh in the year 1657; and, in company with Robert Widders and Alexander Parker, passed through the adjacent country in several directions, "sounding the day of the Lord, preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation, and turning people to Christ Jesus who died for them, that they might receive his free teaching." G. Fox's Journal, 3rd edit. p. 255.

It does not appear that any of these dedicated labourers, unless it were John Grave and George Atkinson, advanced so far as Aberdeen; nor did Stephen Crisp, who, in the year 1659, being then recently come forth in the ministry, left his home in Essex, in order to bear witness to the truth of Christ, in Scotland. His own account of this undertaking, although afford-

ing no additional particulars on the subject immediately before the reader, contains so fair an illustration of the grounds and motives of the early ministers of this Society, in their religious embassies, that it is thought well to give it a place in the Appendix to these memoirs. See *Appendix*, B.

Nearly a year prior to this, John Burnyeat of Cumberland, was engaged in a similar concern; and he being the first who makes mention, though very briefly, of Aberdeen, in the account he has left of his visit to that nation, it will be proper to detain the reader by an extract from his published Journal.—"Now, while I was in prison, [in the common gaol of Carlisle,] something came upon me for Scotland; but, I being a prisoner, and not yet deeply acquainted with the way and work of the Lord's power and Spirit, as in relation to such a service, great was the exercise of my spirit that I went under; and, for want of experience and a clear understanding, I was swallowed up, and for a time quite lost in the deep, where, great was the distress of my soul, beyond utterance! But, the merciful God, by his powerful arm, and healing, saving Word of Life, did restore and bring up my soul out of the deep, where it was for a time buried, und renewed life and understanding, and caused the light of his countenance to shine, and the sweetness of his peace to spring; so that I may truly say, he caused the bones that he had broken to rejoice. And then, when he had thus crushed, and humbled, and let me see how he could make all things become as nothing again, and so hide all glory from man,—then, in his goodness, he revealed his glory, and power, and presence, and reviving life, and so opened to my understanding his good pleasure; which, with all readiness and willingness of mind, I gave up unto, in my heart and spirit. After my being kept about three and twenty weeks in prison, I had my liberty; and so came home, and followed my outward calling that summer; and grew more and more into the understanding of the mind and will of

the Lord, in that which I had a sight of, while I was in prison. And so, keeping to meetings, and waiting upon the Lord, in a true travail of spirit after more acquaintance with him, and more enjoyment of his power and word, I grew, not only into an understanding, but also into a degree of strength and ability fit to answer that service, which the Lord had called me unto.

"And so, then, in the faith, that stood in God's power, about the beginning of the eighth month, 1658, I took my journey into Scotland, and travelled in that nation about three months; and was both in the north and west of it, as far north as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh, and so down west to Lithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and as far as Port Patrick; and back to Ayr and Douglas. And our service was at their steeple-houses, and markets, and other places, where we met with people; and sometimes at Friends' meetings, where there were any. And our work was, to call people to repentance, out of their lifeless, hypocritical profession and dead formalities, wherein they were settled in the ignorance of the true and living God; and so to turn them unto the true light of Christ Jesus in their hearts, that therein they might come to know remission of sins, and receive an inheritance amongst the sanctified. And, being thus clear of that nation, we returned into England, and came over the water to Bowstead-hill, the first day of the eleventh month, 1658." See *Appendix*, C.

The gospel messages of these and other zealous witnesses, reached the consciences of many who heard them. Yet, with regard to Aberdeen and the district thereabouts, no open espousal of the tenets peculiar to the people called Quakers took place, until towards the end of the year 1662; when William Dewsbury was drawn, in love to these prepared and panting souls, to proclaim among them "the acceptable year of the Lord," even deliverance from the bondage of corruption, by the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

Thus was the remarkable work of convincement,—which had been secretly going on, in some of their hearts for several years, through many deep conflicts of spirit,—helped forward to such a point, that they were made willing, even in all things, to take up the daily cross, though in various respects as bitter as death, and to follow the guidance of Christ by his Spirit within them, whithersoever he should be pleased to lead.

On the list of this little, but noble band, the name of Alexander Jaffray stands foremost. He is described, in the ancient record which forms a groundwork to this history, as having been chief magistrate of the city of Aberdeen, "and a man of great account as to religion, among the highest professors all along." With what lively emotions of entire satisfaction, these doctrines were likely to have been embraced, at this time, by these individuals, may best be conveyed in his own language:—that, when first he heard that God had raised up a people in England, directing all to his pure light, Spirit, and grace in their own hearts, as the most sure teacher and leader into all truth, religion, and worship; his very heart did leap within him for joy.

In an early part of his Diary, he makes some favourable allusion to the principles of the Independents, nearly at that time, when, from conscientious motives, he thought it his duty to withdraw from communion with the Scottish Presbyterians. There is little doubt, but that, up to the season when his narrative breaks off, he belonged to no distinct society of Christian professors. After that period, during the short space which intervened before his joining the Society of Friends, he may possibly have been *considered* an Independent; agreeable to the statement given of him in that excellent publication, now called, "Piety Promoted." But hitherto, it is evident, he represents himself to us, as reserving himself for some further manifestation of a more excellent way, than that which had

hitherto come within the line of his experience. The frame and breathing of his spirit seems constantly to have sent forth this petition, "That which I see not, teach thou me;" whilst his unshaken, uniform dependence on Divine direction and help, would doubtless oftentimes bring home to him the scriptural promise and accompanying exhortation, Phil. iii. 15, 16. "———And if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing."

It is to be regretted, that no documents have been met with, throwing light upon that interesting, though small portion of his life, which extends from the last date occurring in the Diary, to the time when he was actually united to the Society of Friends; a period of about a year and a half. And truly the few scattered notices respecting him, which afterwards occur, or of events in which he was concerned, however valuable so far as they go, the reader will observe, set forth but imperfectly the retiring qualities of his spiritual habit and walk. For, while the same general features of his character as hitherto pourtrayed, are plainly discernible throughout, matured indeed by wisdom, even that which is from above,—"pure, peaceable, gentle;" yet are we in great measure deprived of all that near access to the workings of his soul, unto which the form of a Diary admits us.

Among the names of those others, who are recorded as the first Friends in Aberdeen, convinced by the instrumental means of William Dewsbury, are Alexander Gellie; Margaret, wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate of the city, whose spiritual endowments gave her eminence and weight among the strictest classes; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Goodall, merchant; Margaret, wife of John Scott, also a magistrate of the same place; with some others. See *Appendix*, D.

It will not now be doubted, that the motive influencing persons in these stations of life to such a change,

was a conscientious desire to yield unreserved obedience to the teachings of the grace of God. It may also be as safely asserted, to have been their earnest prayer, that they might in no wise limit or exceed these, nor yet confound them with the dictates of human policy, custom, tradition, or imitation. Widely different, however, were at that day the conclusions taken up respecting them, especially by the public teachers of religion; nor can the virulent opposition to these views, and to all who held or propagated them, be in any wise palliated or disguised. Robert Barclay, who some years after became one of their number, in the preface to his first piece, entiled "Truth cleared of Calumnies," forcibly but justly describes the low estimation in which the Friends were held, not only at this time, but even before any settlement of them had been formed in this section of Scotland. The passage alluded to, is as follows.

"After the Lord had raised up the witnesses of this day, and had opened in them and unto them the light and glory thereof, divers of them at sundry times were moved of the Lord to come into these parts, and unto the town of Aberdeen, in love to the seed which there was to be gathered; but their acceptance for divers years together, was very unsuitable.

"For the enemy that had wrought, and was exalted in the mystery of iniquity, to darken the appearance of this day, had prepared and stirred up his ministers, to resist them and their testimony, by aspersing them with many gross calumnies, lies, and reproaches; as demented, distracted, bodily possessed of the devil, practising abominations under colour of being led to them by the Spirit; and as to their principles, blasphemous deniers of the true Christ, of heaven, hell, angels, the resurrection of the body, and day of judgment; inconsistent with magistracy, nothing better than John of Leyden and his accomplices. [See *Appendix*, E.] This was the vulgar and familiar language of the pulpits, which was for a time received

for unquestionable truth; till about the year 1663, some sober and serious professors in and about the said town, did begin to weigh these things more narrowly, and find the savour of that life in the testimony of this so much reproached people, which some years before had stirred in others, who were now come to a great loss and decay. And this gave them occasion to examine the principles and ways of that people more exactly; which proving, upon inquiry, to be far otherwise than they had been represented, gave them a further occasion to see the integrity and soundness of that despised people and of their principles, on the one hand; and on the other, to see the prejudiced disingenuousness and enmity of their accusers. In these, the Lord caused his word to prosper, (who were few in number, yet noted as to their sobriety in their former way of profession,) and raised them up to own that people and their testimony, and to become one with them."

Alexander Jaffray, shortly after his convincement, removed from Aberdeen to Inverury, sixteen miles distant, and was instrumental in settling a meeting there. By this means, some, hearing the joyful sound of truth, gladly closed in with it, as a day of merciful visitation, for which their languishing, weary souls had long waited. Among these, were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robertson.

About the same time were also joined to their number, George Gray and Nancy Sim, persons of very good repute, both with regard to their religious qualifications and worthy conduct; insomuch that the appointed minister of the parish where they dwelt, Samuel Walker of Monkeggie, boasted of them, saying, that he had a weaver, and a poor woman, whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equalise, either for knowledge or good life. But when, shortly after, these very individuals, his hearers, respecting whom he was so highly opinionated, withdrew from under his teach-

ings, and joined the people called Quakers, this minister was exceedingly incensed.

Respecting George Gray, it should here be briefly stated, that he afterwards became, through sincere and steadfast adherence to the intimations of Christ's Spirit, a highly valued servant of the gathered church; being called into the ministry, during the time of his subsequent long and hard imprisonment at Aberdeen. Poor as to this world, and barely acquainted with the very rudiments of learning, the word of God's wisdom, the word of faith, dwelt richly in him; and his understanding being much enlarged in heavenly experience, he brought forth, as a faithful steward, the good things committed to him, to the great refreshment of the Lord's heritage, and to the building up of many in the truth. As none could justly blame the upright, even tenor of his conduct, so was he, through watchfulness, preserved and directed in the exercise of his ministerial gift; nor could any critical opposer, it is said, ever find him wrong in a word. On the other hand, many persons would confess their admiration at the excellent matter, utterance, and pertinent connexion observed in the testimonies of one, so devoid of acquired learning, and yet, so thoroughly furnished in all respects unto his holy calling. Thus, in this instance, was very clearly held up to view, what it is that constitutes the best adorning of gospel preachers, and what is the only right qualification for speaking "as the oracles of God." See *Appendix*, F.

Nancy Sim, who was also in low circumstances, readily opened her house, at a place called Ardiharrald, for the purpose of keeping religious meetings. But the people of the neighbourhood flocked to them so greatly, that her house would by no means contain those who assembled; on which account, they were often obliged to meet in the open field.—Thus did the word of the Lord prevail, which had been proclaimed among them,—the word of his grace,—unto which they had been commended,—and it "was precious in

those days." Such as were made willing to yield to it, esteemed it more than their necessary food; indeed, it was with them, in their measure, as it was with the Prophet Jeremiah, where he says, "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." It is evident, they received it "not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God," so that it effectually wrought in them, being mixed with faith.

Among others who "laboured in the Lord," Elizabeth Johnston, daughter of a physician, Dr. William Johnston, being a faithful and enlightened woman, became "a succourer of many," and a considerable "helper in Christ;" her mother, Barbara Forbes, who is mentioned in Jaffray's Diary, having also joined the Society. But the principal instrument made use of, in these parts, for the gathering of many from the barren mountains of an empty profession, to feed in the green pastures of life, under the leadings of the Shepherd of Israel, was Patrick Livingston, whose name will frequently occur in the course of this history. He was born near Montrose, and was convinced about the year 1659. Near three years after this, coming northward in the work of the ministry, when but twenty-eight years of age, the good Husbandman was pleased singularly to own and bless his faithful labours by evident fruits; so that he became the means of planting a flourishing meeting of Friends at Kinmuck, which afterward grew to be the largest in the nation, and is still upheld in the same place to the present day. The following is described as one out of the many remarkable opportunities, which it is said that he had with the tender and serious people thereabouts. While he was sitting waiting on the Lord, among the first handful that were gathered into the like profession in that part of the country, there being many other persons present, the Friends were much bowed down and low in their minds, in a sense of "great straitness and hardness over the meeting." Patrick

Livingston broke silence, by declaring, that, for a sign and token of the loving-kindness of the Lord, towards a seed or remnant raised and to be raised up in that country, he would reveal his glorious presence among them in a wonderful manner, before they parted. So little appearance of this was here, when he spoke, and for a while after, that some of the Friends present who were weak in the faith, fell under a great concern, lest this should not have been by any means fulfilled. But the Lord, who never fails to be a very present help in time of need, unto all his patient, dependent little ones, was pleased at length to grant a plentiful outpouring of his mighty power through his servant, "even as a rushing stream, to the overcoming of the hearts of his children, and to the amazement of the people; of which circumstance," says the account, "there are yet living several witnesses."

The public preachers of Aberdeen now began to be considerably alarmed, at finding that so many, both of the higher as well as lower classes, withdrew from their communion. By calumnies and reproaches poured from the pulpits, they endeavoured to incense the magistrates to suppress this people, and to raise among the ruder and less intelligent of their hearers a spirit of indignation and of vindictive abuse. Hence it was that whenever any of this persuasion appeared among them, they were received by the populace with stoning and beating in the streets, pulling by the hair, and other lawless abuses, which the magistrates, instead of reproving, too often countenanced. By their order, Richard Rae, before mentioned, a shoemaker of Edinburgh, was arrested and kept close prisoner in the Tolbooth or public prison of Aberdeen, for the space of six months.—This seemed like the signal for the commencement of a determined course of persecution—a persecution, unattended indeed by those extreme acts of savage cruelty, which were exercised towards the Presbyterians in the south of Scotland, about the same period; and yet, embracing such a

series of unrighteous proceedings, carried on against a harmless and unresisting people, as cannot fail to prove affectingly interesting to the mind of every considerate Christian. And why? Because he loves to mark the progress of "the true light" of the gospel, in dispelling the various shades of apostacy and spiritual darkness; —on this account, must he own and duly appreciate every stand that has been made or is making, in integrity, meekness, faith, and patience, against the delusions and encroachments of antichrist. See *Appendix*, G.

In the next year, 1664, George Keith, who had been convinced of the rectitude of the doctrines held by Friends, coming to visit his brethren at Aberdeen in the love of the gospel, was cast into gaol, and detained there ten months. Patrick Livingston also, for the same offence, became his fellow-prisoner during the space of seven months. While they were here, one Peter Strachan, son to Andrew Strachan, the public minister of Kintore, confined with them for debt or some misdemeanor, violently beat and abused them: and, taking away their papers, sent them to the magistrates. This man afterwards became troubled in his conscience; and, under a sense of his wickedness in thus ill-treating the innocent, cried out fearfully, that the judgments of God were upon him for his behaviour towards them, and repeatedly begged forgiveness of them in presence of several witnesses. See *Appendix*, H.

But the envy of the professed ministers of Aberdeen, George Meldrum and John Menzies, appears to have been now principally bent against Alexander Jaffray. His blameless life, and the high estimation in which he had for many years been held, by the more candid and serious inhabitants, appeared in their view to render him the more dangerous seducer. They accordingly stirred up against him Patrick Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, and through him the Archbishop Sharpe also. Upon this, he was summoned to appear

before the High Commission Court of their church; and on that occasion was enabled to bear a faithful testimony to the Truth of Christ, experiencing his promise to be fulfilled, Luke, xxi. 15, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist:" for, even the Archbishop himself, who condescended to confer with Alexander Jaffray, could get no advantage in argument against him. Nevertheless, to satisfy these ministers, the sentence of the court was, that he should be confined to his own dwelling-house, and keep no meetings therein, nor go any where without the Bishop's license, under the penalty of a fine of 600 merks, Scots money, which is £33 15s. sterling: this sum they esteemed to be one-fourth part of his yearly rents. To such an unjust sentence his answer was, that it was better to obey God than man:—and this obedience, afterward, cost him various sufferings.

Some readers may need to be reminded, that the Episcopal form of church-government was reestablished in Scotland in 1662, after an interruption of twenty-four years. Sharpe was made metropolitan. He is described by some writers to have been one of the most unprincipled men of the age in which he lived. And certainly, to go no further than the testimony of Bishop Burnet, this character of him is amply confirmed. With regard to the other bishops in general, and of Scougal in particular, that writer thus speaks, in his History, "I observed the deportment of our bishops was, in all points, so different from what became their function, that I had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious against all that stood out against them, but were very remiss in all the parts of their function. Some did not live within their diocese; and those who did, seemed to take no care of them: they showed no zeal against vice: the most eminently wicked in the county were their particular confidents: they took no pains to keep their clergy strictly

to rules, and to their duty: on the contrary, there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them, that very much scandalized me. There was, indeed, one Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, that was a man of rare temper, great piety, and prudence: but I thought he was two much under Sharpe's conduct, and was at least too easy to him." Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 304. It was scarcely to be expected, that men of this stamp should be mild and temperate in the exercise of that secular and inordinate power, with which they were now invested. In fact, one of them,—"so great a man as Leighton," who had indeed accepted the bishopric of Dunblane, but with a single view of endeavouring to promote the harmony of the church of Christ,—often declared, in Burnet's hearing, "that in the whole progress of that affair, [the setting up of Episcopacy,] there appeared such gross characters of an angry Providence, that, how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them; and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his church; so that the struggling about it, seemed to him, like a fighting against God."

CHAPTER II.

1664: Alexander Jaffray writes a Word of Exhortation, addressed to professors.

About this time, George Keith published a few sheets addressed 'To those, who passed under the denomination of the Church of Scotland, especially to such as had once known a zealous profession, but had then greatly degenerated.' On that occasion, Alexander Jaffray was induced to write a preface to this

Address, entitled, "A Word of Exhortation," stated to be "from a lover of the true interest of those to whom it is directed," and signed by himself.

This faithful and feeling expostulation of our Diarist, shall here be transcribed nearly at full length. It conveys, in beautiful but true colours, the nature and ground of that spiritual testimony, which both he and his associates were eminently concerned to bear. There may also be plainly seen, in this paper, one evidence, in addition to those that have gone before, of that heavenly love, meekness, and charity, with which the soul of Alexander Jaffray was replenished to the end of his course.

Whatever be our views of the deficiencies apparent in the style of writing of this period, especially religious composition, and even of authors whose advantages were by no means small; yet, if we wish to reach beyond the surface of things, and to appreciate what is of truth and wisdom, we must patiently dig into the mine. We shall often feel ourselves amply repaid for our labour; in meeting with that richness and depth of thought, which, indeed, seemed to have occasionally carried some of these authors far beyond the niceties of diction. This remark may not be thought particularly applicable to the present instance; but it applies to many productions written by early members of the Society of Friends. They cared not to please the vain mind and corrupt taste in any; but their aim was to satisfy the longing soul, to reach the witness for God in every conscience; believing in the practical import of that saying of Solomon's, "The full soul loatheth an honey-comb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet." Prov. xxvii. 7.

JAFFRAY'S WORD OF EXHORTATION.

"How is it that ye do not yet discern this time? how long will ye shut out the discoveries of it, and thus provoke the Lord to shut you further out from

beholding them? O fear, fear to be found any more in that guiltiness, which, if persisted in, may shut you out even for ever! And let none so look on themselves, as to suppose they are past this hazard, if they yet continue neglecting, opposing, and persecuting, or approving those who persecute, the growing light of this day, as it is come and coming forth, even with power and great glory.

"Truly, Friends, think what ye will, the chief thing in the controversy that is betwixt God and you, is this;—your keeping up men's traditions in place of the true institutions of Christ, whilst he now so evidently comes forth to vindicate and restore them—your adhering to, and preferring the oldness of the letter to the newness of the Spirit; which first, indeed, had its glory, but is not comparable to this which excels. Think not, that such a case and state of things as was in the primitive days, ended with those, who were so zealous for, and loath to part with, the law and the outward ministration thereof in the letter. Nay, Friends; consider seriously of it in the fear of the Lord; lay by your passion and prejudice, for it nearly concerns you; consider of it in soberness, and ye shall truly find it your very case at this day, as then it was theirs;—that same spirit acting now, as then, for the outward ministration, in opposition to the inward, and more heightened in its actings now than ever. O when shall that be dead to you, or ye to it, wherein ye have been so long held from beholding the glory of the Lord, as it comes forth in the work of this day!—And how contrary to, and inconsistent with it, was that work, which by might and power ye were leading on; though ye had attained what ye proposed, in the furthest and highest extent of that Uniformity, which ye so endeavoured to have imposed upon all. Are ye not yet sensible of your mistakes and snares in these matters, so as to be made willing to glorify God, (as some of you have, it may be, ingeniously gratified men,) with a humble confession of

your overreachings and other guiltiness, brought upon yourselves and the people of these nations?

"Many times hath it been in my heart thus to have spoken some few words unto you, as unto those whom I dearly love in the Lord, and to whom I stand by many bonds obliged, if in any service I could be useful. But, being somewhat sensible what I had to do in my own particular case, and not altogether unacquainted with the deceit of the busy enemy, who in this day lies so near, ready to draw out the mind to vent its own imaginations, and to speak of the things of God without his warrant; I have hitherto withheld, in expectation of a more fit occasion, which, on the perusal of the ensuing papers, was very clearly given me. And indeed, the subject spoken to, and the truths inserted in them, had been some years ago much on my heart, and seriously inquired after;— and that this inquiry and search was of the Lord, attended with a blessing to me, I can very clearly testify; and finding the same things for the most part, so sweetly and with such a spirit of meekness offered unto you, I see it only my duty at present to be concurring in my testimony, agreeing fully with what is said in them, as being most fit and necessary to be seriously minded by you.

"Dear Friends, it is high time for you to awake, and to consider what ye are doing: there is another thing to be brought forth in this day than ye have yet conceived; your guiltiness for opposing it, is greater than ye are aware of; nor, if ye so persist in the way of provocation, will your apparent zeal for God and his ordinances serve the turn; although I do think, it hath hitherto lain very near the hearts of some of you, where singleness of heart in any measure yet remains. Consider, if something of the same snare and temptation be not on you, as was on them who so zealously contended for Moses and the prophets; the same was their plea, and upon the same grounds did they go on, to the rejecting and crucifying of Christ,

as ye, (some of you ignorantly and others more perversely,) are at this day in the way to do. Bear with my freedom; for, truly I can say it, there is no bitterness nor passion at my heart, while thus I use it; but the deep sense of the dreadful hazard ye are running, hath drawn it from me; that, if so, in the will of the Lord, ye may return to your first love, and again embrace the Guide of your youth; the missing and departing from whom, hath always been the cause of the short-comings and mistakes of our fathers, the first Protestants, as well as of ours, with regard to the work of God. These, indeed, were not in every thing come to own their true Guide; though in some things they did it, and, according to the simplicity that was in them, they were sweetly ordered by him, and accepted of him. Thus was it with them; thus also hath it been with many who succeeded them; and was it not so, of late among us also? yea, it was eminently so, both in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In this, mainly, is our great guiltiness exceedingly aggravated, even beyond what was theirs;—that, although the discovery of this duty, of waiting to find the immediate direction of our Guide in every thing, as absolutely necessary, has more clearly come forth, and at a time when this guidance is more fully bestowed than formerly; yet is it now (dreadful to think of) more than ever disowned and persecuted;—and by those very persons, whom I well knew to have sometimes sweetly enjoyed the blessed effects of the Spirit's immediate teachings in themselves, and thus to have been instrumental to the great advantage of others.—Such wonderful and astonishing effects do the deep and fiery trials of this day bring forth, when every work of man is to be consumed, as well the gold and precious stones, as the wood, hay, and stubble! 'That which is born of the flesh is' but 'flesh;' even that which is begotten only through the knowledge of Christ after the flesh, must be left behind and parted with, else the Comforter cannot come;—in this way,

the fruitful field may become a wilderness, and the wilderness and solitary place a fruitful field:—thus it is, the Lord alone may be exalted in this day, and all flesh must be low as grass before him.

"Let, therefore, the dread and terror of the Lord seize upon all, especially the professing people of this generation; that they may no more transgress in this thing, of despising or neglecting the immediate teachings of his Spirit,—this 'key of knowledge,' which the lawyers 'have taken away,' Luke xi. 52, this little 'stone,' which must 'fill the whole earth.' Dreadful is the judgment that is to be met with by such, whatever they be, who shall still be found refusing to receive Jesus Christ, thus coming to his kingdom in their hearts! and what, then, shall become of those who shall be found rebelling against 'the true Light,' so as to mock and persecute it?

"Dear Friends, as ye love your peace and safety, beware of this; for it borders too near upon that guiltiness [of speaking against the Holy Ghost,] which 'shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.' What, need you to be so afraid at the coming of Christ to his kingdom, that so his will may be done in earth as it is done in heaven? hath it not been the matter of your prayers many a day, and do ye well to be angry, when it is so gloriously coming to pass? O! how can this become you ill, to desire, with him who so long since wished for and rejoiced at it, that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would pour out his Spirit upon them? This would not have wronged, nor diminished any thing from his ministry then, who was so eminent; nor will it now, from the true ministers of Christ. Those who make but a trade of preaching, thereby to win their living, as other tradesmen do, it is no marvel to see them very angry at the approaching glory of this day. 'If every one is to have the Spirit, and be permitted to speak publicly, what shall then become of our ministry,' say they,

'and how shall we live?' And though there be some, yea, there may be many among you, who upon this account do not own these men, nor this plea for their pretended ministry; but, it may be, really think in your hearts, that, were there no other thing in it, ye could with Moses wish for and rejoice thereat, even that all the Lord's people were prophets;—pleading, that it is a gospel ministry and maintenance ye stand for, and no other; and this, being an institution of Christ, which ye now perceive to be so struck at by the Quakers, ye may not so part with it. Yet consider seriously of this matter, and it will not be found so, either on your part, or on theirs whom ye with the world in scorn call Quakers: for we do really own both a gospel ministry and a suitable maintenance according to the Scriptures; and ye do neither own the one nor the other, but in words only. For, though ye seem to disown those men, who seek after the ministry and the standing of it mainly on account of their hire; yet, consider it seriously, if on this matter ye do not the very same thing with them, and harden them in their guiltiness, and the people in their prejudice, against us; while, by your profession and practice, ye justify an imposed and forced maintenance, which is so well known to be contrary to the gospel, and condemned by your predecessors, and many others of the martyrs and servants of God. And again, however ye pretend to be for a gospel ministry, it is not so; no, ye are downright opposers and persecutors of it:—and, alas! that I should have cause so to speak. Can ye produce any institution of Christ's for justifying a ministry, which cannot be maintained, but as descended through a line of succession from the great enemy of Christ; and for keeping up of which, a door must be set open even for the ungodly. For, it is plainly affirmed by many of greatest note among you, that grace belongs only to the well-being, and not to the being of such a ministry and ministerial qualifications as are required by you

see Durhame on the Revelation concerning Ministerial Qualifications, page 199. And, where it is thus, a door is set open for an ungodly man to enter, if he be furnished with gifts of human learning; and closely shut upon another, however he may be known to be eminently pious, and well furnished with spiritual knowledge and gifts of the Holy Ghost. Is this your gospel ministry? And yet, thus it is, according to the acts and appointments of your (supposed) most pure and incorrupt assemblies, that have been of late: so far are ye in this also become contrary to your predecessors, who both by their practice and profession affirmed, that every faithful man and woman was a priest; this is fully testified to, both by Knox's Chronicle, and Spotswood in his History, 2nd book, p. 60. Are ye not, therefore, ashamed any longer to own such a ministry? O Friends! come down, and lie in the dust; for, greatly hath the Lord been thus provoked by you, and lamentable is the case of the people of these nations, who are perishing in their sins, because of such a ministry,—such leaders of the people so causing them to err.

"And if it be here asked, What is that ministry, and what are the qualifications thereof, which the Quakers require? To this I need say but little; the author of the ensuing papers having fully and faithfully spoken to it, and divers other particulars; whose testimony, if not made use of, will one day bear witness against you; as well against the multitude of time-servers, who go along with every thing, as of others, who at present are under some sort of suffering (though in part) for a true testimony, given in some particulars, yet no ways answerable nor suitable to what is required in this day. And all of you, in your several interests and capacities, as ye stand related to the Kirk of Scotland, as it is styled, and to the pretended work of reformation, are very much called upon, seriously to mind what is therein said unto you; and then, the thing intended may very clearly ap-

pear,—that hitherto ye have been labouring but in the fire, as to producing any work of reformation which God allows of; yea, and going rather backward from what was once attained to, losing and plainly contradicting the true and honest principles of your worthy predecessors: which one thing, rightly considered, may evidently demonstrate to you, that your work hath not been, nor is, of God. The presence of God having been very evidently with the author of these papers, in his inquiry after these things, this his service may be very useful for you;—and will be so found and acknowledged by those, whose eyes shall be opened to behold, how the Lord comes forth in this day of his power, to try every work of man, and by the foolish things of the world to confound the wise. And as to what is there said on that particular, respecting the qualifications of a true minister, I shall only add these few words:—That which was so necessary from the beginning, that which we have heard, and seen, and handled with our hands, of the Word of life,—even the power and presence of the Lord in his people,—do we, whom in scorn ye call Quakers, declare unto you, as the only essential qualification of a true minister of Christ.

"And if this be it, ye are so afraid of, that through the increase of this, the spirit of prophecy, the true church and ministers of Christ shall suffer loss; your fear upon this account is groundless; for only in that way must these stand and prosper, so as that the gates of hell shall never prevail against them. But, if your fear be for the fall of that supposed church, which they (the hirelings, I mean,) and ye so contend for, both among yourselves and with others, (which is truly antichristian and no better:)—then, undoubtedly, your fear is coming upon you.—And for preventing it, as ye may think, it is no marvel, that ye so fall in with them for the defence of Rome and her ministry; or else, (as some, who have been and yet are famous among you, have both spoken and

written,) that ye must not only lose your church and ministry, but your baptism and the Bible also. The witness of God in your consciences cannot but tell you, how much ye did once detest and abhor to say or think so; until of late, your skirts are discovered and your heels made bare, through the growing light of this day, in these and many other points of the like nature, and your way is so hedged up of the Lord, that ye cannot escape,—either to own Rome as your mother church, and so return to her again, or fully to part with and come out of her for ever;—and thence not to bring with you a stone of hers, either for a foundation to Zion, or for a corner. Nay, Babylon must not be; ye have been for a long time endeavouring otherwise; but she must be destroyed for ever; agreeably to that of Jeremiah, li. 9, 'We would have healed *Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country; for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies.*' And the time of her judgment draws near; and yet, neither the church, nor ministers of Christ, nor the true baptism, nor the Holy Scriptures of truth, nor any other of his true ordinances, shall thereby suffer loss; but great and glorious advantage will be to those who wait for it.

"And because there are some, with whom I have had sweet fellowship in the Lord, who, it is very likely, would have expected some other thing from me, than such sharp and peremptory expressions and conclusions, both against them and the way of the Kirk of Scotland, as they term it, in which I was bred with them, and had my beginning in the way of godliness;—now, to speak shortly a word to this.—I am not without hope, that a day is coming, (and frequently have I sought it of the Lord on your behalf,) when ye shall come to see the truth of what I say, and the necessity which was on me for it on your account; even so as that ye shall willingly acknowledge, it was the greatest evidence of my dear and tender love in the

Lord towards you, which, next to his glory, led me to it; and that, otherwise, I should be wanting in the expression of that true and sincere love, which I still have towards you.

"As to the advantages I have found in owning these despised people, called Quakers, I need say but little, if what is contained in this and the following pages be considered. I know, indeed, it is my place to lie low in the fear of the Lord, and to speak but little as to advantages, or any progress that I have made; and I acknowledge, no man hath more matter so to do; yet, in this case, I may not be silent, but must, in the fear of the Lord, thus give my testimony to this precious people, and the truths of God asserted by them,—that they do truly and really both profess and practise the new and living way, in which holiness is attained, by mortification and subduing a body of sin and death; having indeed come to the discovery of these things, even in the life and power, which throughout the dark night of apostacy hath lain much hid, and hath been but very little felt or known. Such is the goodness of God to that precious people; (count of them and call them what ye will,) the power of life and holiness is more truly known among them, and eminently held forth by them, than by any people else that have come forth since the apostles' days;—and a greater measure do they yet wait for, and as they are faithful, it will be multiplied on them; for the presence of the Lord is with them, and all their opposers must fall [yield or give way] before them.

"Dear Friends, consider then, how far ye have been mistaken concerning them, being carried on with groundless jealousies and prejudice against them, as though they were grossly erroneous, blasphemous, and the like. Nay, nay, Friends, it is not so; and upon search, ye shall find it far otherwise; let your informers (—many of whom sinfully take things on report without trial, and others, for the maintenance of your own interests, have made lies their refuge)—let such

say what they may,—this people is, and will be found to be, a blessed people; who, as instruments in the Lord's hands, may be called the repairers of the breach, and the restorers of the paths to dwell in. [See *Appendix*, I.] They dearly own and rejoice in the use of the Holy Scriptures, and desire to live up to the practice of all the truths of God declared in them. Beware, then, what ye say or think of them, and that ye approve not in the least their persecutors. And if, as yet, ye cannot receive what they offer, yet beware to reject or to judge of it, because ye cannot as yet close with it; the time may come, when ye shall both see and receive it. If the work they are about, be of God, (as undoubtedly it is,) then it must prosper; beware therefore to be found any more opposing it, lest ye be found also fighters against God.

"As for me, I am but a child, and as one of yesterday;—yet, through grace, I am what I am: and although I own that state wherein I was, when I walked with you; (for, truly, I can say, there was a measure of singleness and sincerity within me in it, and therefore I may not disown it,—nor any, while they so continue there, if they be not wilfully opposing further discovery;)—yet, this I verily know, and can truly say, I then was, and now am, called of the Lord to go further, forgetting the things that are behind, to press forward for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. This is what I aim at: and what, through the help of my God, as I keep faithful to what I know of it, I have hope more than ever to attain,—even in that way so much slighted and despised by you.

"Now, that I may come to a close; I have but a few more words to say, to such of those to whom these papers are directed, who are gone beyond the sea, if at any time this shall come to their hands:—it is, to desire them in the fear of the Lord to consider seriously what is herein in particular said unto them; and if, without prejudice and in soberness, they wait for it,

I am hopeful it shall be said unto them, 'How came ye here, and what do you here, seeking to uphold that which I am pulling down, and to bear down that which I am setting up? this is not your proper work: return from whence ye came, and it shall be shown unto you.' [See *Appendix*, J.]

"Dear Friends! (for so ye are to me,) whether ye will hear or forbear, yet know of a truth, I speak not unto you without a warrant.

"ALEXANDER JAFFRAY."

"Written in the 11th month,
1664."

CHAPTER III.

1665: George Keith's ill-usage, and the imprisonment of Alexander Forbes and others—David and Robert Barclay join the Society—Some account of them, especially of David Barclay previous to this circumstance.

GEORGE Keith, in the year 1665, under a sense of religious duty towards his Maker, and with a desire for the good of souls, publicly confessed and upheld "the way of the Lord," in an address to the congregation who assembled at "the great place of worship," in Aberdeen. In attempting that service, he was violently assaulted, beaten, and knocked down by one James Horne, their bell-ringer. It was observed, that, a short time after this, the same individual, going up the steeple to ring the bell, suddenly fell down through a hole, above four stories high, was instantly killed by the fall, and on the very same place of the pavement, where he had beaten the Friend above mentioned.—The reader is of course left to make his own reflection on this latter circumstance; whilst the conduct of

such as George Keith, may be further explained in the Notes. See *Appendix*, K.

The following year, Alexander Forbes of Achinhamper, who had then lately shown a decided preference for the Friends, having withdrawn from the teachings of James Gordon, minister at Alford, in whose parish he dwelt, the latter individual thought proper to excite the bishop of Aberdeen to prosecute him; upon which, at length, both he and Alexander Gellie were apprehended and carried away to Edinburgh, being imprisoned in the Cannon-gate Tolbooth there, whither they were committed for six months. Their deliverance was, however, happily effected before that time had expired, and without a violation of conscience on their parts, or submission in any wise to the will of their adversaries.—Towards the close of the same year, John Glennie, James Urquhart, John Brown, and William Gellie were also taken, while at their own place of worship, and imprisoned for two months in a place called the Iron-house at Aberdeen, where the worst of felons and murderers were usually confined.

But by such rigorous proceedings, those termed the clergy did not attain their object; on the contrary, others from time to time fell off from their congregations, and joined the despised people called Quakers. This year, in particular, 1666, David Barclay of Ury, descended from "an ancient and honourable family among men," and, about the close of the same year, his son Robert, openly and thoroughly attached themselves to this Society. Of these distinguished characters, a small memoir was long since published; and of Robert Barclay, in particular, a more recent account, well known to many readers of the present volume. The transactions of their lives are, however, so closely mixed up with this period of our church history in the north of Scotland, that it becomes needful to revive them in the present shape; interspersing also some additional particulars, from sources not hitherto availed of.

With regard to "Colonel David Barclay," as he did

not enlist under the pacific banner of the cross of Christ, till past the meridian of life, it is thought proper to travel somewhat out of the course of this history, by touching upon his career before he became a Friend. This digression, it is hoped, will not prove devoid of interest and instructive bearing. It is after having taken a view of the stations occupied by such individuals in the world, and their connexion and influence with those in political power, that we are more fully prepared to realize the difficulties of the path they afterward had to walk in; at the same time that we are better qualified to appreciate the depth, and strength, and beauty of that spiritual work, which was effected in them. We can then more duly estimate what it cost them, to refuse the glory of this world, with all the various opportunities that presented, of gratifying "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life;" as well as to accept with cheerful resignation "the reproach of Christ," by becoming fools for his sake, that so they might be "to the praise of his glory." Eph. i. 12.

David Barclay was born in the year 1610, at Kirktounhill, the seat and birthplace of his father, of the same name; who, living much at court, and being of an easy disposition, became embarrassed in his affairs, and was obliged in 1633 to sell the ancient estates, which had been held by the family for upwards of five hundred years. He, however, paid off his debts, and gave his son David, with the rest of his children, a liberal education. David went on his travels into Germany, and there enlisted as a volunteer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; but, after having been engaged in many battles, and quickly risen to the rank of major, on the breaking out of the civil wars in his native country, he returned home.

Being a man of "great modesty," he seldom, if ever, adverted to his military actions; nor is it likely he would do so, after he became one with the Friends in sentiment, as to the origin of "wars and fightings,"—

except it were to testify against them. Some of these circumstances of his life, however, are alluded to in the histories of the times; they are therefore deemed by no means unfit to have a place in these memoirs. Circumstances of this description, like those of a similar cast relating to Alexander Jaffray, may assist the reader in contemplating the strong contrast there is, between views of worldly and warlike policy, such as then influenced the conduct of these individuals, and that line of conscientious practice taken up by them in after life, which induced them to become comrades in the spiritual warfare.

The following narrative is taken, nearly verbatim, from a manuscript now before the author, written by the grandson of Robert Barclay; his ultimate or chief authority, however, with regard to David's military exploits, seems to be one Gordon of Sallach, who, it is said, wrote an account of the Sutherland family, in which he relates many events, that he had himself witnessed.

"Colonel Barclay was sent with an army, in 1646, to quell an insurrection made by the Earl of Crawford, who, with a number of Irish as well as Scottish forces, had wasted the north parts of the kingdom, and burnt several towns. But, the Colonel coming up with him at Banff, entirely routed him."

The above writer states, that, in the same year "Major General [afterwards, the Earl of] Middleton, and the Colonel were sent with an army to relieve Inverness, then besieged by the Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Seaforth. The Colonel, crossing the river with his regiment of horse above the town, and falling upon Montrose's forces, routed both him and Seaforth, and made both flee to the mountains; having taken all their baggage and cannon. From thence they went to Chanrie of Ross, which they took after four days' siege, where they seized all Montrose's ammunition; after which, they restored the castle to the Lady Seaforth, whom they used very discreetly." "On their

return to Edinburgh, the Marquis of Huntly attacked the town of Aberdeen, where Colonel Henry Barclay, Colonel David's relation, lay with two regiments; who, notwithstanding all the defence he could make, with the assistance of the inhabitants, became master of the place, Colonel Henry being taken prisoner, with about twenty officers, and a number were killed. Upon which the Parliament, in 1647, sent the General and Colonel David to reduce Huntly, who, upon their approach, retired to the Highlands. And, that he might not return, they took all the castles and towns, in which were placed garrisons; Colonel David being appointed Governor of Strathboggie, then a strong place, and Middleton Governor of the Bog of Gicht, now Castle Gordon."

The spring following, according to the same author, David Barclay married "Catherine Gordon, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, second son to the Earl of Sutherland. This Sir Robert, the first Knight Baronet of Scotland, was a man of great parts and honour, which, with his near relation to the Royal family, made him much esteemed at court; he being second cousin to King James the 6th of Scotland and 1st of Great Britain, to whom and his son King Charles the 1st, he was Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Vice Chancellor of Scotland, and Privy Counsellor."

"David Barclay continued a Colonel of horse, being appointed to command in the shires of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. The nation being at that time alarmed with the sad condition of King Charles the 1st, then in captivity in the Isle of Wight, came to the resolution to rescue him; and the Parliament, for that purpose, having sent an army into England, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, the protection of the kingdom, (and of the Prince of Wales' person, who was expected to land in Scotland,) was committed to three individuals: the Earl of Lanark, who was Hamilton's brother, and the Laird of Garth-

land, each with 500 horse, were stationed south of the Tay, and Colonel David Barclay with the same number, besides his own regiment, was to kept in order the country north of that river. This trust was executed on the part of the latter, with vigour and fidelity. But after Duke Hamilton's overthrow at Preston, the opposite party, being assisted by Cromwell, procured the engagement to relieve the King to be declared unlawful; in consequence of which, all the officers were turned out of their posts. Among these, Colonel David Barclay was one; nor does it appear that ever after he was concerned in military affairs."

The above account of his conduct, is said to have been given, in a manuscript preserved in the family, all written with his own hand; he also takes notice, that being, for the reason just mentioned, rendered incapable of further service to his Prince, he retired to Gordonstoun for several years. During this time, the Earl Marischall, being taken prisoner at Eliot, in Angus, by the English under General Monk, and his estate forfeited, they seized it, together with the lands of Ury, which the Colonel had purchased from him; on the pretext, that the rights (or perhaps writings) of the latter were not fully completed. Upon this, by the advice of the Earl and his other friends, he availed himself of the interest he had by his wife's cousin-german, the Earl of Sutherland, and other relations, and became elected member of Parliament for that shire; and in the next Parliament, by his own interest, for the shires of Angus and Kinkardine or the Mearns. This was looked upon as the only method left, to get possession of his own estate of Ury, as well as to do service to his country and friends, particularly the family of Marischall, towards whom he bore a great respect. With regard to these objects, he was so successful, that he got access to his own land, and obtained large concessions in favour of the Earl Marischall's family, so that there was little made by that forfeiture to the party then in power. This,

with his strenuous endeavours on behalf of the other forfeited nobility and gentry, made him so popular, that he was again, in the year 1656, elected member of Parliament for those two shires; where he vigorously opposed and voted against Cromwell's being made King.

After this, he disentangled himself from all public affairs, living in much privacy, sometimes at Edinburgh, and sometimes at Gordonstoun, with his mother-in-law; until the month called March, 1663, when he lost his excellent wife, Catharine, aged forty-three years. About the same time, in addition to this source of affliction, he was, by order of the government, after the Restoration, committed close prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. This treatment was said to be occasioned by his having been "a trustee under the Usurper," as Mackenzie's History of Scotland states; and yet he had suffered in the cause of Charles the 1st, not only by being thrust from all his posts on that account, but by having his estates seized for several years. It was even suspected, there was a design that he should forfeit both estate and life, had it not been for the strong interposition of the General, and then Earl of Middleton, under whom he had served in the late civil wars; and by whose interest, as the King's Commissioner to the Parliament, he was liberated, without any thing being laid to his charge, or reason given for his commitment.

David Barclay had now passed through many vicissitudes, had tasted of prosperity and adversity, and by his general conduct among men, had obtained the approbation of most with whom he had been concerned. His retirement from the world, had given him a sight of his own heart, and of the uncertainty of all temporal things; each day giving fresh evidence of their instability in every condition, from that of the King upon his throne to that of the most destitute. He observed too, that neither justice nor innocency could protect, nor good offices done, secure a man

from malice, envy, and persecution. In this perplexity, he thought it was high time for him, who had spent so much of his day in the services of others, (being then between fifty and sixty years of age,) to bestow the remainder wholly in the service of God, and by so doing more directly answer the great end of his creation. Under these considerations, he looked around him with the greatest anxiety and earnestness, to know, in the midst of so many pretenders, what society of Christians to join with. One observation he had made upon all the different persuasions, that each of them laid claim to be the only true Christians, yet not only differed from, but persecuted one another with the greatest violence, as opportunity came into their hand; and this, for the very reason which had rendered themselves the object of persecution, namely, their differing from others. His intercourse with the world, both abroad and at home, had given him ample occasion to make such remarks on their practice; while the perusal of their several systems of divinity, whilst in his retirement, had afforded him full insight into their several credenda. Upon the whole, he concluded, that the Christian religion must in itself be very good, and the only true religion, since all valued themselves upon their claim to it; and further, that all could not be right, when they so widely differed one from another. To relieve himself by arriving at a determinate choice, he betook himself to the close reading of the New Testament, as the only certain way of knowing the religion of Christ in its primitive purity. By such means was he brought clearly to see, in what this essentially consists, and what was the shape its several professors had put upon it. He saw, that in itself it was "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," —that it taught to be humble, patient, self-denying, —to endure all things, to suffer all things;—not to place our happiness or comfort on this world, or the things of it.

Whilst under these considerations, he heard of a people, called in derision Quakers, who under great reproach for their singularity and abstractedness from the world, bore, in much plainness, and simplicity, a remarkable testimony against all the follies and vanities of the world, as well in their practice as in words; and he considered within himself, that if they were really such as even their enemies were forced to acknowledge, there must be somewhat extraordinary about them. These his private thoughts, he afterward communicated on several occasions to his friends.

Accordingly, with the greatest earnestness did he set about an examination and inquiry relative to this way, which was indeed "every where spoken against." Being in London about this time, he "had converse with several Friends both there and elsewhere," as the Record preserved at Ury distinctly states, "whereby his mind became convinced" with regard to the tenets held by Friends. Some months after this, being a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, as before recited, together with John Swintoune, David Barclay was considerably "strengthened and assisted" instrumentally by this individual in making an open avowal of his sentiments. It is said of Swintoune, that during his imprisonment he was more concerned to spread the views he had adopted, than to defend his own life; and it appears, that on this occasion, the Governor of the Castle, to prevent the infection of his opinions, shut him up for several weeks close prisoner, debarring him from all sort of intercourse. With much wisdom, however, as well as patience and caution, did David Barclay pursue his inquiry, before he moved in so important a step. He ascertained, that notwithstanding all the calumnies and reproach with which their enemies loaded them, this class of men were a sober, plain, self-denying, religious people; that they never shunned suffering or persecution for their testimony; that they gave up their all for the sake of their religion; that they had beat their swords into plough-

shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and neither taught nor exercised war any more,—the certain mark of the gospel times, according to the language of the evangelical prophet, Isai. ii. 4. Further, that they loved one another,—the infallible character our blessed Saviour hath given, of their being his disciples, John, xiii. 35; in short, that their practice and principles were most agreeable to the primitive standard recorded in the New Testament. He therefore came to this fixed and certain conclusion within himself;—if Jesus Christ hath followers, disciples, or a visible church upon earth, these must be they. So, upon full conviction, he joined with them, and became eminent for his religious and exemplary life, as formerly for his bravery, resolving to suffer indignities and injuries for conscience sake,—a virtue he was before very much unacquainted with.

This change in his resolutions, belief, and practice, made him suffer nothing in the esteem of the generous and better part of his acquaintances; but it had the contrary effect among the more mean and malicious; and the laws being then against all meetings for worship, not conducted after the prescribed national standard, these greedily laid hold of the occasion, to molest so peaceable a people; although it was clearly the main intention of the government, in the enactment of these laws, to put down those field conventicles of armed men among the Presbyterians in the south and west of Scotland, where few of the Quakers ever were disturbed. In the north, on the other hand, chiefly at Aberdeen, they were often "mobbed by the dregs of the town, set on by the zealots of that day." It was remarked, that none bore these indignities with greater calmness than did David Barclay. One of his relations, upon an occasion of uncommon rudeness, lamenting that he should be now treated so differently from what formerly he had been; he answered, that he found more satisfaction as well as honour, in being thus insulted for his religious prin-

ciples, than when, some years before, it was usual for the magistrates, as he passed the city of Aberdeen, to meet him several miles, and conduct him to a public entertainment in their town-house, and then convey him so far out again, in order to gain his favour.

His humility and sincerity as to religion was "most remarkable in his whole conduct;" but his deportment is said to have been particularly awful and striking when engaged in public prayer. In his person, he is represented as "one of the largest, strongest, and handsomest men that could be seen among many thousands; his hair, as he advanced in life, became white as the flax, but bald upon the top of his head, so that he wore commonly a black satin cap under his hat."

It appears, that David Barclay resided at Edinburgh at the time of his convincement, which, as before remarked, took place in 1666. In the 4th month following he sent his son Robert, to reside on his estate of Ury, near Stonehaven, being accompanied by his agent, David Falconer, a worthy Friend, who had several times suffered imprisonment for conscience sake at Edinburgh. The first public meeting for the purpose of worship was kept at Ury, with some others in that neighbourhood, that same month and year; Robert being then not nineteen years of age, and having quite newly become united in faith and fellowship with this religious body. Such a fact is thought worthy to be pointed out; and it is affectionately recommended to the contemplation of the youthful reader, taken in connexion with the extensive religious growth and fruitfulness of "this blessed young man" in after life:—it seems to have been as an early offering by way of earnest, and, doubtless not merely indicated, but opened the way to further acts of dedication. His father soon after, settling with his family at Ury, meetings of the like kind continued from that time to be regularly held, in a building close to the family mansion, for the space of probably, more than one hundred and twenty years.

The foregoing biographical account being brought thus far, what remains to be portrayed of David Barclay, will be given with other events in the order of time.

His son Robert was born at Gordonstoun, in the shire of Moray, the 23rd of the 10th month, 1648. When very young he had the appearance of a promising genius; and, after passing through the best schools in his native country, was sent by his father to the Scottish College at Paris, of which his uncle was the rector. Here he made so great proficiency in his studies, as to gain the notice and particular approbation of the masters of the college; and became especially a favourite with his uncle, who offered to make him heir to all his property, (which was very considerable,) if he would remain with him. But his father, fearing that he might become tainted with the superstitions of Popery, and in compliance with his mother's dying request, went to Paris in order to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return; and proposed to purchase and give to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, "He is my father, and must be obeyed." Thus he sacrificed interest to filial duty; and the uncle, disobliged, left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France.

Robert Barclay returned to Scotland in 1664; two years after which, his father became united in membership to the Friends. So far from endeavours being used to gain over the son to this persuasion, it was the express desire of the parent, that he should have his religion from conviction, rather than from imitation; which accordingly proved the case. For, having freely and extensively visited all his relations and friends, in different parts of the country, of whatever religious denomination, and particularly those of the Roman Catholic body; having also strictly examined how far both their principles and practices were con-

sonant with the Scriptures of truth; he found himself constrained, upon the same ground of real conviction as his father had been, to embrace the same doctrine and course of life. It is by no means evident, that he was induced simply through the means of preaching, to make this change; indeed, his own clear explanation, which will be shortly given, leads us to an opposite conclusion; but more especially the testimony of Andrew Jaffray, one of his intimate friends, who asserted that he was "*reached* in the time of silence." Although, during his father's imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, the governor denied him all access to him for the space of several months; yet he had had sufficient occasion to observe the circumspect example and genuine piety of his worthy parent, as well as that of other servants of the Lord, who entertained similar views; and his mind was in consequence imbued with some "general impressions" in favour of Friends; till at length, according to the language of the Ury Record, "he came by the power of God to be reached and made to bow" before the Truth. At this juncture, John Swintoune and James Halliday were particularly helpful to him as instruments; and perhaps it might have been one of these individuals, who uttered those few words, attributed to some minister who was present at the first meeting Robert Barclay attended, and which are said to have had considerable effect on his mind:—they were these—"In stillness there is fulness, in fulness there is nothingness, in nothingness there are all things."

His own explanation above alluded to, appears in the following passage in the "Apology," where, speaking of himself, he says,—"Who, not by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and convincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness to the Truth; but by being secretly reached by this Life. For, when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my

heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed." Prop. xi. sect. 7.

Some account of his religious experience from his youth, is contained in the succeeding extract, given nearly in his own words, from another of his publications, which is a treatise on "Universal Love:"—"My first education from my infancy, fell among the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect; in heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence they derive their pedigree, but all other reformed churches abroad. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of Papists; and my tender years and immature capacity, not being able to withstand the insinuations that were used to proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof; and continued so for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects, I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of love: seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare, how opposite they are to universal love. The time that intervened between my forsaking the Church of Rome, and uniting with those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several. My converse was most with those, who inveigh much against judging, and such kind of severity: which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, opposite to the preciseness of these other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know, what usually is pre-

tended on that side likewise. As for those I am now united to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ."

Through great love, watchfulness, and fidelity to the inward appearance of Jesus Christ, "the true Light," Robert Barclay early came forth a zealous and able witness for it, taking up his cross to the glory and friendship of this world, and despising the shame that attended his owning this testimony; for he esteemed "the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt," and counting all things but loss in comparison of winning Christ, and being found in Him. After this manner, he rapidly advanced, it may be said, both with regard to stature and strength, to such a growth in grace and saving knowledge, as has been the admiration of many. It was not long, before he was called out to the public ministry; and, receiving this gift "as his greatest crown or dignity," laboured to fulfil the services required at his hand, in bringing others to the Truth as it is in Jesus; and his labour was not in vain in the Lord. Although he did not believe it required of him, to travel so extensively as some others in this work, (there being ample room for variety in the administrations of heavenly wisdom to her children;) we find him, in this respect, very highly esteemed in love by his fellow-servants. William Penn styles him an "accomplished minister of Christ;" though, perhaps, not intending to convey what may in this day be understood by that phrase. George Fox, who was by no means addicted to eulogy, but rather sententious in his commendations, testifies of Robert Barclay, that he was "a wise and faithful minister of Christ,——who did good service for the Lord——turning people from darkness to light. Much more might be written concerning this faithful brother in the Lord and pillar in the church of Christ, who was a man I very much loved for his labour in the Truth." Of his father, the same Friend

writes, that he "was a noble man for the Lord and his Truth."

Before turning from these striking specimens of the effect of submission to Divine power in its operation on the soul, it will be proper, for the sake of those readers who may need such information, at least to advert very briefly to Robert Barclay's character as an author, and to one of his engagements in that line. He was considerably exercised in controversy, from the many contradictions which in that day were poured forth upon this view of the Truth, and upon him for its sake, chiefly in his own country. In these, he ever acquitted himself with honour to his religious profession; but particularly by "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity," held by the people called Quakers, which volume was published in Latin so early as the 28th year of his age; his first piece having appeared in print six years before. "This was," says William Penn, "the most comprehensive of all his pieces. It came out at the close of a long and sharp engagement between us of this kingdom, and a confederacy of adversaries of almost all persuasions. It was his happiness both to live in a more retired corner, and to enjoy at that time a space of quiet above his brethren: which, with the consideration of their three or four years' toil, and a sense of service in himself, put him upon undertaking and publishing this discourse, as an essay towards the prevention of future controversy: It first lays down our avowed principles of belief and practice,——[after which] he has put the objections which he had collected out of our adversaries' books——and answers them; and lastly cites divers authors, both ancient and modern, especially some of the primitive ages, for further illustration and confirmation——. The method and style of the book may be somewhat singular, and like a scholar; for we make that sort of learning no part of our divine science. But that was not to show himself; but out of his tenderness to scholars, and, as far as the

simplicity and purity of the Truth would permit, in condescension to their education, and way of treating those points herein handled." It has passed through many English and also foreign editions, being translated into several languages. Among those, who from that day to the present have joined the Society by convincement, not a few have been led to do so, from the perusal of this book. Several have been the testimonies given in its favour by authors of repute. "I am not ashamed," says one, "to own, that I have with great pleasure read over Mr. Barclay's Apology for Quakerism; and do really think it the most masterly, charitable, and reasonable system, that I have ever seen. It solves the numerous difficulties raised by other sects, and by turns thrown at one another, and shows all parts of Scripture to be uniform and consistent." Cato's Letters, or, Essays on Liberty, civil and religious, by Gordon and Trenchard, 1720, vol. iv. 226. Another author, Norris, a minister of the "Established Church," declares, "I cannot think Quakerism inconsiderable, as the principles of it are laid down and managed by Barclay. That great and general contempt they lie under, does not hinder me from thinking the sect of Quakers to be far the most considerable of any that divide from the Church, in case the Quakerism that is generally held, be the same with that which Mr. Barclay has delivered to the world as such; whom I take to be so great a man, that I profess freely, I had rather engage against a hundred Bellarmines, Hardings, and Stapletons, than with one Barclay." And again, That he knew of no religion so rich in reputation for great men, but might be glad of the accession of such a writer. Of Divine Light, Tract. ii. p. 32.

In truth, to adopt nearly the words of a candid writer, Robert Barclay's qualifications for controversial labour, were unusually eminent; being not only master of useful literature, but of a clear comprehension, a capacious reach of thought, a close and con-

vincing manner of reasoning, delivered in a forcible style, though plain and unaffected. The excellency of his temper, heightened by the influence of religion, preserved him in coolness, that his judgment was not blinded by any degree of passion; whilst his regard to undisguised truth prevented him from flattering error, or excusing calumny. His enlightened mind penetrated to the bottom of his subject; and this imparted a clearness of method, which, with the weight of his arguments, proved him an overmatch for his antagonists.

It is not requisite here to enlarge any further on this author's productions. An ample survey of them has been given by the author of "A short Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay," published in 1802. William Penn also wrote a preface to his Collected Works, in which there is a particular recommendation of the several treatises of which it consists. This introduction, for the lively spiritual sentiments pervading it, can scarcely be read without advantage by those who have a true relish for divine things.

CHAPTER IV.

1666: James Urquhart excommunicated by the Presbytery: a remarkable circumstance befalls the person who publishes this act—1667: violence of "Sir John Keith" against the Friends—1668:—illness of Alexander Jaffray—he is imprisoned at Banff—his address to the Bishop of Aberdeen—1669:—Lilias Skene's convincement—her husband, from an opposer, becomes a Friend—1671:—the public preachers of Aberdeen endeavour to excite the civil power against this people—a synod of the clergy address the King's Council against them—1672:—the King's declaration of indulgence—Friends relieved by the Judges on the subject of oaths—the sudden and dismal end of some persecutors.

It happened about the year 1666, that James Ur-

quhart, whose name has been before mentioned, for his conscientious separation from the national church of the day, fell under the censure of the Presbytery, and was excommunicated. The excommunication was sent to one William Forbes, a minister of the place where Urquhart lived, with an injunction of the Presbytery for him to publish it from the pulpit. The minister, conscious in himself of the honesty and integrity of the person, against whom he was enjoined to read the sentence, fell under strong convictions, and great reluctancy of mind against the performance of what he was commanded. But, when he considered, that the consequence of his disobeying the Presbytery would, in all probability, issue in the loss of his stipend, covetousness overcame his convictions; and he publicly pronounced the sentence against James Urquhart, in direct opposition to the dictates of his own conscience. This, afterward, gave him much uneasiness, and his mind became so discomposed, that he could not, for some time, proceed in performing the usual offices of his function; until, at length, he publicly and ingenuously came to confess, that his discomposure was a just judgment of God upon him, for cursing with his tongue a person, whom he believed in his own conscience to be a very honest man. Yet, notwithstanding his convictions were so clear and overpowering, he again fell into the like error, and in a way more nearly affecting him. His own daughter, Jane Forbes, was convinced of the Truth, and joined the people called Quakers. Church proceedings were carried on against her to an excommunication, which her father was required by the Presbytery to pronounce. The poor man's case, under so difficult a dilemma, was really to be pitied. Hard was his choice, either to lose his living by disobeying the Presbytery, or wound his conscience by pronouncing excommunication against his own daughter, whom he knew to be a virtuous and religious woman. But alas! both his conscience and natural affection gave place to the love

of money; so that he was determined to read the excommunication, and had uttered some kind of prayers previous thereto, when he was suddenly struck by death, at the very time he had purposed to deliver that sentence. A melancholy and remarkable exit, wherein nature was observed to sink under the weight and oppression of a conflict between conscience and self-interest.

Sir John Keith, who in those days, and afterward, was very violent against Friends, having, in the year 1667, brought away, under a guard, several of this people from Inverury, where they had been previously imprisoned; the magistrates of Aberdeen, to whom they were delivered, after keeping them in confinement some time, caused them to be conducted through the streets, with great contempt and reproach, to the Bow-bridge, where a guard was provided to conduct them southward to Edinburgh, from shire to shire, as the worst of malefactors. When they had proceeded a little way out of the town, one of the prisoners, William Gellie, a man of very weakly and infirm habit, sat down; and the rest of the Friends followed his example, refusing to go further, unless horses were provided. At this, one of the bailies or magistrates, named ——— Alexander, who attended, in order to see them set out, was much enraged, commanding William Gellie to rise and go forward on foot; and because of his refusal he struck him piteously. Friends, however, continued to sit still; upon which, the magistrate with all his train, not being able to prevail in their purpose, returned to Aberdeen, and the Friends to their respective dwelling places. But, what was remarkable, the first object that presented itself to this persecutor on reaching his own house, was his son, who had by a fall broken his arm, and in the very same time that the father had been using his arm to strike the harmless servant of the Lord; which circumstances, thus coinciding, so awakened the conscience of this person,

that he said, (and afterward told it to some Friends,) he should never strike a Quaker again.

We return to the worthy, and now, infirm Alexander Jaffray, who at this period laboured under much affliction with a quinsy; for some time he could not speak, nor scarcely eat or drink, insomuch as to be given over for death by all that beheld him. Yet, while in that state, he signified by writing, the steadfastness of his faith in God; and also his belief, that he should yet be preserved for further service to the Lord and his Truth; which prediction the sequel fully verified. It is said, that, at that juncture, a certain female, a noted professor, was much impressed, observing the calmness, resignation, and faith evinced by this devoted Christian, in an hour which was judged to be his last, and his unshaken firmness in the testimony which he had received to bear; hereupon, she went to one of the ministers of the city, and asked, whether they durst deny that Jaffray had once been a truly gracious man. They said, they would not deny it. "Then," said she, "either Quakerism must be a right way, or else your doctrine false, who say, there is no total nor final fall from true grace; for he is dying, confirming that way."

Shortly after, on the 11th of the 9th month, 1668, he was taken from his own house at Kingswells, in a sickly, debilitated condition, and carried by three messengers to Banff prison, at the instigation of the Bishop of Aberdeen, under the pretence of a fine of six hundred merks, formerly imposed upon him by the High Commission Court, for suffering religious meetings at his house, contrary to their order. Thus, the Bishop and those termed clergy discovered the malignity of their disposition, in imprisoning this faithful man thirty miles distant from his habitation; which, to him in a delicate and enfeebled state, proved no less than three days' journey. He was there detained prisoner nine months and sixteen days, to his great expense and detriment, (some of his family being mostly with him,)

as well as to the endangering of his life; for he might have died there, had not the civil power relieved him from ecclesiastical tyranny; the King's Privy Council giving order for his release, without his paying any thing whatever for the fine, or for fees or charges, neither of which he could conscientiously have defrayed.

It was during this his meek endurance, and participation of the sufferings of Christ, that Alexander Jaffray addressed an epistle to the Bishop, who had thus been a willing instrument in occasioning his unrighteous bondage. It is here given, though somewhat condensed in parts.

"To Patrick Scougal.

"Not in my own will, am I thus drawn forth, but in the will and authority of the living God, to warn thee to beware of persecution,—to beware of oppression!

"It was reported of thee, at one time, that thou wouldst not be, as others, in the use of these 'the instruments of a foolish shepherd.' Zech. xi. 15, 16. But, if any simplicity of that kind have been truly found with thee, how is it, that thou hast so sinfully betrayed it, by countenancing and approving the actions of those, who, while absolute in power, drove so furiously, as to make themselves, and the highest censures of their church, slighted and scorned!

"Will not every judicious and seriously sober person, find more cause now than ever, thus to judge of them and their proceedings, and still more so of thy concurrence with them; while the weight of your indignation is so mainly turned against that sober, harmless people, the witnesses of Jesus Christ, in scorn called Quakers? they, above all others, being most falsely charged with owning blasphemous and heretical tenets, and such abominable practices as their soul abhors; who have by no means been wanting in vindication of themselves, both by word and writing, from such charges.

"But, so greatly hath iniquity prevailed, that men are not ashamed thus to detain the Truth of God in unrighteousness; not only obscuring and hiding that which we gave forth for the clearing of our principles and practices in these respects, and which they themselves called for at our hands; but, in order to keep us in disgust among the people, still make it their work to exclaim against us, as though they knew nothing to the contrary, but we were guilty of the very same things. In due time, however, God will arise and judge for these things; yea, sad is the judgment already meted out, although it be not discerned by you.

"With regard to thy proceedings towards myself in particular, (some things as to my bodily weakness considered,) it will be found, that this present imprisonment, and the usage I am meeting with, may very warrantably be termed, cruel severity and oppression. But, I am not intending to mention this, or to take notice of thy hand herein, further than my testimony for the Lord and his Truth is concerned in it.

"And therefore, finding that thou, and some others, interested persons, who act by thy order, endeavour to weaken this my testimony, by affirming, that my present sufferings are only occasioned by my own wilfulness, or my relations' neglect, who, by paying a little money, might have prevented the same;—to undeceive thee and them herein, I find it my duty to tell thee, I am engaged upon far other grounds than those of wilfulness or peevishness, to decline paying or in any way to assent to the payment of that money,—even, on that of a real and well-grounded fear of God. For, as thou well know'st, that fine was incurred, not for any crime or guiltiness, but for my testimony to the work of God imposed upon me. And, to do any thing to weaken this, either by paying, or permitting to be paid on my behalf, any part of that money, would be a very betraying of the cause of God into the hands of its enemies.

"Thus do I warrantably and truly judge of this matter, however thou or others may conclude, through the darkness that is in you, as to a discernment of the work of God in this day, and what is required of the true witnesses of it. I can truly say, my own particular case should not have been so much as mentioned, were it not for the sake of my testimony, which above my natural life, and all that is on that account dear to me, I desire to preserve full and entire. God hath so overruled, and I know that he will continue to overrule, the sharpest of my sufferings, to his own glory and my soul's advantage, and hath likewise so overruled your designs therein; that, through his grace, I am made willing, (so far as I am alone concerned,) to pity and freely forgive both them, and thee in particular, who hast so mainly acted in this matter; for which, most assuredly, you will have before God to answer.

"And this, further, I may not forbear to tell thee. Such severity against the people called Quakers, will not produce that which thou and others intend by it. For, though ye should be permitted to bring many more than myself to die in prison; (—as, how many for this, the cause and work of God, not loving their lives unto death, have been cheerfully brought thereto;) yet, shall that only tend to the further service and advancement of our testimony, which is indeed gloriously come forth, and shall further, to the terror and astonishment of all opposers.

"ALEXANDER JAFFRAY the elder."

"From the Tolbooth in the town of Banff,
the 4th day of the 11th month, 1668."

While in this place of confinement, Alexander Jaffray also wrote "A Testimony to the Truth, given forth for the good of all to whom it may come; more particularly intended for the magistrates and inhabitants of the shire and town of Banff." This paper, which is dated the 24th of the 1st month, 1669, and chiefly consists of general exhortation and warning,

he gave in with his own hand before a great head court of that shire, which sat in a room adjoining his prison-chamber, having also distributed some copies of it among them.

About this time, Lilias Skene, wife of Alexander Skene, one of the magistrates of Aberdeen, a woman held in high estimation there for her religious attainments, and especially by George Meldrum the minister before mentioned, was brought under a great concern of mind to join herself in society with the despised "Quakers." A material circumstance attending her convincement merits observation. While her mind was deeply exercised in a serious inquiry after the way of truth, she found her progress impeded by notions and prepossessions against that people, industriously instilled by the preachers into her mind, and into the minds of others of their hearers;—as, that they denied the Scriptures, and did not pray in the name of Jesus. This impediment was removed in the following manner. She happened to be taken ill, and kept her chamber, in an apartment, under the same room where Barbara Forbes dwelt. Barbara Forbes was an individual particularly favoured of the Lord, and endeavouring to live in communion with him; who had found her way into fellowship with the Friends, having measurably arrived at that difficult attainment, which Alexander Jaffray desired for her—namely, that she might behave and quiet herself as a child that is weaned of its mother. At her house, the Friends were accustomed occasionally to meet, so near to the apartment of Lilias Skene, that she could distinctly hear what passed. Attentively listening on one occasion, she plainly heard two English women exercised both in preaching and prayer, whose lively testimonies she observed to be full of Scripture expressions, and their petitions put up in the name of Christ, as well as accompanied by his life and power. Thenceforward, she was effectually reached by the Truth, and brought under subjection to it; being also thoroughly con-

vinced of the falsehood of those slanderous accusations, with which the preachers whom she formerly admired, had been accustomed to calumniate the Friends. See *Appendix*, L.

This valuable woman had not long entertained and adopted such a change in religious views, when her husband, Alexander Skene, from a zealous opposer of this people, became a sincere convert to their Christian principles; as did also Thomas Mercer, "late dean of guild," about the same time. The civil stations occupied by these individuals in Aberdeen, and the general repute in which they stood, appeared only to add to the alarm and indignation evinced by the ministers, on occasion of such persons withdrawing from their communion. The name of Alexander Skene, in particular, has already occurred in the former part of this work; being one of those who were sent for to Edinburgh, by a religious assembly held there in 1651, that he might be present at certain conferences on the important inquiry, as to "the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land:" we may therefore assume, that he was considered to possess some solid qualifications as a Christian professor; and yet this is hardly to be in any wise traced or discerned in the account he gave of his own conduct on one particular occasion. For, after he had joined the Society, he related the following singular circumstance, that befell him in the time of his ignorance and height of unsanctified zeal against Friends; and which he desired might be remembered, as a warning instance of the providential hand of the Almighty against a bitter, railing spirit, which he acknowledged then ruled in him. Being in company, at his own house, with one Alexander Gordon, a non-conformist preacher, he said, It were well to take that villain George Keith, and hang him up at the cross of Aberdeen. Within a very few hours after he had uttered these words, he was smitten in his cheek and mouth with that complaint, called cynicus

spasmus or snarling spasm, by which his mouth continually turned about; in this condition he remained for some weeks, so that the witness for God in his conscience convinced him of the justice of this visitation, for his hasty, furious speeches against that innocent person, and against Friends.

Notwithstanding this sad specimen of the outbreaking of the unregenerate nature, aggravated, as it certainly was, in one who had laid high claims to the religion of Jesus; it is still very possible, in the face of his own self-loathing, that the case, so far as regards the bitterness of the intention, might admit of some modification. For, independent of the general estimate of his character, we find his acquaintance, Robert Barclay, thus testifies of him. "Alexander Skene was a man very modest, and very averse from giving offence to others." The same author further intimates respecting him, that being overcome by the power of Truth, in regard to the subject of spiritual worship, he found it incumbent on him to refrain from all other public modes of performing this great duty, and to join himself to us: that he also gave the reason of his change, comprehending his views in the form of short questions, which he offered to the public preachers of the city. These questions were thought fit by Robert Barclay to be inserted in his "Apology;" and being well worthy the consideration of those, who are marking the Rise and Progress of this class of Nonconformists, they are placed in the Notes. See *Appendix*, M.

But such endeavours, on the part of Friends, to explain the grounds of their conscientious dissent from the "national church" hitherto utterly failed. The leaders among their opponents, desisted not on every occasion, from their attempts to excite the civil power to proceed with rigour, against them; though hitherto, through the moderation of the magistrates, without much success. For, in 1671, when the Judges visited Aberdeen on their circuit, Meldrum,

whose inimical disposition towards this people has already been shown, in his sermon before the Judges, represented them, in his usual strain, as a most dangerous and pernicious sect, at the same time urging the exercise of the utmost severity of the law against them. Nor was he satisfied with this; but, in company with his colleague, John Menzies, he waited upon the Judges at their chambers, where they also met with the bishop: to them they complained, that the magistrates of Aberdeen had several times broken up the Quakers' meetings, had imprisoned, fined, and even banished some of them; and yet, were not able to suppress them. Upon which, the Judges asking, What they would have them do further? Menzies "made a proposal so cruel, that the bishop was ashamed, and the Judges would return no answer." And when some of the said people, who were cited, appeared before them, they declined passing any sentence against them, or giving any countenance to the purposes of these professed ministers of the gospel, which they clearly saw to be malicious. See *Appendix*, N.

Immediately upon the convincement of the two individuals above mentioned, Alexander Skene and Thomas Mercer, at the joint solicitation of the four ministers of Aberdeen, a sub-synod, or, perhaps, more correctly speaking, a synod was convened by the bishop; which met soon after, and drawing up an address to the King's Council at Edinburgh, sent two of their number to present it; in which, they petitioned the council, to take some effectual course to curb and rid the land of the Quakers, who were increasing among them. The deputies from the synod expected to obtain some fresh order from the council against the "Quakers," but met with fresh disappointment; the council only referring them to a precedent act of Parliament, which ordained, that all who withdrew "from their parish church, be admonished by the preachers before two sufficient wit-

nesses," and then, after an absence of three successive weeks, "they be fined one eighth of their valued rents." Returning to Aberdeen, these deputies reported to the town council, the issue of their application; upon hearing which, the provost or mayor made this remark, "What signifies all this? we had this before: take you care to do your own work, and we shall do ours." Two of them, George Meldrum and David Lyall, thereupon, immediately set about doing their part towards bringing the act into force against this people; and were busily engaged in performing their monitory office from house to house, when, the same night, the King's Declaration of Indulgence to all Nonconformists, in 1672, reached Aberdeen, and put a stop to their proceedings at that time. This was accepted as a providential deliverance by the persons, whose ruin they sought.

The Declaration of Indulgence came very seasonably to prevent the execution of an act of council, which the preachers had prevailed upon the magistrates of Aberdeen to pass; by which they had resolved, "that no Quaker should be made a burgess or freeman of that city," and that "whosoever received a Quaker into his house, without leave of the magistrate, should be fined five shillings. And that if any person should let a house for Quakers, either to meet or dwell in, he should be fined five hundred merks Scots money, or £28 2s. 0d. sterling.

About the same time, the people called Quakers in this kingdom received relief, in a case of conscience, in which they, in common with their brethren in other parts, were greatly exposed to suffering. It was the custom and legal practice of Scotland, in suing for a debt, where proof failed, to put the defendant to clear himself upon oath: this exposed the Friends, who could not swear at all, to be made a prey, by ill-designing persons prosecuting them frequently for unjust claims. The Judges, perceiving the advantage this conscientious scruple gave their antagonists in such

suits, and regarding the case with that equity which became their station, humanely determined, that in such cases a simple declaration of the truth should be accepted from that people: a favour they had not then obtained in England.

But, as they did not fail to admire that providential Goodness, through whose hand every blessing flows towards his children; so could they do no less, than notice the remarkable interposition of the same overruling power in another direction; either by unexpectedly baffling the designs of the persecutors, or by weakening their hands in various respects: sometimes, even constraining them to penitence, at other times, in an awful manner cutting short the lives of those, that still proceeded in their wickedness. Several instances are on record of this description; some as regards the persecuting preachers and magistrates of the day. Among others, James Skene, who was generally known by the name of White James, to distinguish him from a very abusive and wicked man of the same name, called Black James, took great delight in inventing malicious slanders against Friends. On one occasion, whilst he was repeating some wicked verses, which he had composed, on purpose to defame a worthy and innocent person, he was in that instant, suddenly struck down, as one dead, and was for some time deprived of his senses. When he recovered, he acknowledged the just judgment of God upon him, confessed the offence he had committed against this innocent people, and gave proof of repentance by abstaining from such practices.—Alexander Gordon, professedly a minister of the gospel, procured the imprisonment of George Keith for preaching the truth in the grave-yard at Old Deer, and caused him with another Friend, to be kept all night in a very filthy dungeon, called the Thieves-hole, where there was no window, either for light or air; he was immediately after cut off by death in a sudden and surprising manner. Nor should the case of Robert Petrie, pro-

vost or mayor of Aberdeen, be altogether omitted; who, at the furious instigations of his brother-in-law, John Menzies, and the other stated preachers in Aberdeen, had been very violent against Friends; often breaking up their meetings, and causing them to be roughly dragged away to prison. This same magistrate, some years after, on account of some public transactions in the convention of burroughs, in which he thought himself altogether innocent, was ordered to be imprisoned at Edinburgh, fined in a thousand pounds, and declared incapable of public office: but further,—he was conveyed to Aberdeen, the scene of his unmerciful conduct, and there affronted by being himself imprisoned in the very same place, where he so often had had the persons of his worthy fellow-citizens cruelly detained. So sensibly, however, was his conscience touched by this act of providential retribution, that he very ingenuously confessed to some Friends, "How just is this upon me, for causing honest men to be so unjustly imprisoned, that I should be thus put into this same place myself! But I hope I shall never meddle with any of you again all my life."

Although much occasion remains for us all, in humility and fear, to look well to our own standing, rather than improperly to dive into the counsels of unsearchable Wisdom respecting others; yet surely, in regard to cases like these, we are bound with reverence to acknowledge the hand behind the scene, even that eternal Justice and Truth which has declared, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy. Happy is the man that feareth always; but he that hardeneth his heart shall fall into mischief." "He that is perverse in his ways shall fall at once." "He that being often reproved, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." Prov. xxviii. and xxix.

CHAPTER V.

1669 : Death of Margaret Molleson—her daughter becomes the wife of Robert Barclay—a monthly and a half-yearly meeting established at Ury—observations on church discipline; and Robert Barclay's treatise on that subject—1672: his deep exercise respecting the inhabitants of Aberdeen—remarks on the zeal and care of friends in several respects.

The preceding chapter closed with the exhibition of some dark and gloomy shades of human character. We have now to turn to a brighter scene:—and strong indeed is the contrast. Truly, "The way of the wicked is as darkness;" but we are about to contemplate the life and latter end of one whose path was as "the path of the just,"—and this is said to resemble "the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." Prov. iv. 18, 19.

On the 16th of the 10th month, 1669, a year or two earlier than the date of some of the last foregoing occurrences, the little company of Friends at Aberdeen, had to resign one of their earliest and most exemplary members to that state of rest and fruition beyond the grave, which can never more be interrupted by sin or sorrow. This individual, Margaret Molleson, it may be remembered, has been before named, as the wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate. In her youth she was an inquirer after the best people, and joined herself in worship with the most strict and refined in profession then in that city. But, it having pleased God, who beheld her hungering desires after himself and his righteousness, to send some witnesses and servants, called Quakers, from England into the north of Scotland, who preached the everlasting gospel; she was among the first in those parts that received their message.

Coming to taste the unspeakable love of God in Christ Jesus, she delighted often to retire therein,

out of the encumbering cares of her family and business; and although her love to her husband, and cares of her many children, were great, yet her chief source of peace and joy, her chief desire and care, was to draw nearer and nearer unto the true and living God, the Beloved of her wrestling soul. For this end, were the public meetings of the people called Quakers her frequent place of resort, and she continued "instant" in more private approaches to the Lord; insomuch that her husband, who was not at that time in profession with Friends, had cause to say, her knees were worn with kneeling at prayer. For about four months before her departure, when he awoke in the night season, he usually found her in mediation; and after her decease, he said before several people who came to visit him, that he had lost a true Mary and a Martha, none knowing how great his loss was, so that he could not but deeply lament it.

On the 16th of the 10th month, 1669, in the morning, she was suddenly taken ill, and in the evening of the same day died in childbirth, having been for some time before made sensible that her end was approaching. Yet her physician, not supposing that she had been in so dangerous a state, said to her, She needed not fear—his life for hers; to which she answered, "Fear? I have no cause; but thou wilt see, thou art mistaken." At this time, many relations and neighbours being in her chamber, were in much sorrow; among whom was an eminent professor, and an old acquaintance of hers, who desired those about her to pray for her; which she hearing, when others thought she had been dying, answered, "My Advocate is with the Father, and my peace is made: I am feeding at a table none of you perceiveth." Some lamenting much her being likely to be taken away from her nine children, who were all around her bed, she said, "As many of them as shall truly fear the Lord, and follow him, shall be provided

for:"—which has been since truly fulfilled. And, fixing her eyes on her son Gilbert, who was then about ten years of age, she said, in a heavenly frame of mind, "Truth is precious; cleave to it!" Observing the people in her chamber lamenting much, she said to them, "Settle yourselves, and be stayed in your minds, for ye are now to see the last!" Then, in a sense that she was about to reap the fruit of all her spiritual labours, she declared, "Now interruption is to cease, and my eternal joy is already begun!"

Soon after this she expired.

A few months subsequently to the removal of this exemplary character, one of her daughters, Christian, was married to Robert Barclay. She had, through much suffering and hardship, in her sixteenth year, publicly embraced the testimonies held by Friends, and was one, whose name and character truly coincided; a daughter worthy of such a mother, and a wife worthy of such a husband. As there will be further occasion to speak of her in the course of these Memoirs, her character shall not here be enlarged on; yet it may be interesting to some readers, to contemplate the grounds and motives for entering on the marriage state, which appeared to influence such a mind as that of the "Apologist" at the age of twenty-one years,—at least so far as these are developed in the following letter addressed to the worthy object of his choice.

"28th of 1st month, 1669.

"Dear Friend,

"Having for some time past had it several times upon my mind, to have saluted thee in this manner of writing, and to enter into a literal correspondence with thee, so far as thy freedom could allow; I am glad that this small occasion hath made way for the beginning of it.

"The love of thy converse, the desire of thy friendship, the sympathy of thy way, and meekness of thy

spirit, has often, as thou mayst have observed, occasioned me to take frequent opportunity to have the benefit of thy company; in which, I can truly say, I have often been refreshed, and the life in me touched with a sweet unity, which flowed from the same in thee,—tender flames of pure love have been kindled in my bosom towards thee, and praises have sprung up in me to the God of our salvation, for what he hath done for thee! Many things in the natural will concur to strengthen and encourage my affection towards thee, and make thee acceptable unto me; but that which is before all and beyond all, is, that I can say in the fear of the Lord, that I have received a charge from him to love thee, and for that I know his love is much towards thee; and his blessing and goodness is and shall be unto thee, so long as thou abidest in a true sense of it.

"I write not these things to draw out thy mind, but as being with me so to do; that thou mayest rather be humbled, and love the more to abide in the low, meek, quiet, satisfied, peaceable, contented habitation, from which there is safety that cannot be hurt, and peace that cannot be broken,—a place of rest and quietness, where the children of light and babes of the household of faith have fellowship together, and embrace one another in the pure love, which is mysterious, and hid from such as are led away by the foolish loves and fond affections of this world. [For] when any that bear the name of Truth, or have at any time tasted of the good thereunto belonging, are entangled [herein,] they cannot but receive great hurt, and much damage to their spiritual prosperity and advancement. Against [this] it is my study to watch, and my earnest desire to be enabled so to do. My friendship and respect for thee doth engage me to offer the same advice to thee; because thou and I are those, amongst the small handful in this place, whose private condition puts in a capacity to be obvious to temptation of that kind; by yielding to

which I fear it will be found, some have received hurt. That such as are behind, may be preserved from the like danger, is the cry of my soul. I am sure it will be our great gain so to be kept, that all of us may abide in the pure love of God; in the sense and drawings whereof, we can only discern and know how to love one another.

"In the present flowings thereof, I have truly solicited thee, desiring and expecting, that, in the same, thou mayst feel and judge.

"ROBERT BARCLAY."

About this time, the jealousy and enmity of magistrates, preachers, and people in and around Aberdeen, began to grow very strong towards the Friends; so that, at the Monthly Meeting, the rabble, being stirred up by some envious spirits, had nearly laid violent hands upon John Swintoune, Patrick Livingston, and some others who happened to be there. But when Robert Barclay's marriage took place, their fury was yet more heightened, that being the first proceeding of the kind that had been performed in the city. The couple were married in the usual simple but solemn manner, before many witnesses of various classes, and at the house of Gilbert Molleson, the father of the young woman, who then filled the office of bailie or magistrate. The public preachers of the place, thought their authority so slighted by this act, and were so exasperated at it, that by the Bishop's means they procured letters to summon Robert Barclay before the Privy Council for an unlawful marriage. "This matter was however so overruled of the Lord," as the Friends of Ury express it, "that they never had power to put their summons into execution, so as to do us any prejudice."

On another occasion, in the 1st month, 1670, a number of Friends being collected to hold their Monthly Meeting, the magistrates were further incited to send officers to disperse the assembly. With violence they

conveyed all the men to the Council-house, where the magistrates used their endeavours to dissuade them from the practice; and taking a list of those who came from the country, dismissed them. Upon this, they straightway returned to their own company, the time of their gathering not yet being expired; there they found the women Friends, together with other people, attempting to perform the sacred and imperative duty of worship. They had not long been there, however, when the officers appeared again, and with greater fury than before dragged them back to the Council-house, where the provost and Council reprimanded them for contumacious resistance of civil authority, using much threatening language. But Friends were preserved in a tranquil and innocent boldness, so that "neither the big words nor yet the barbarous deeds" of their opponents, could make them flinch from an honest confession of the true reasons for their conduct. One of them saying, in defence of their alleged disobedience to magistracy, that it was better to obey God than man, the provost scoffingly answered, "So we must all, forsooth, be apostles and disciples." On this, John Hampton, a poor illiterate young lad, observed, that it seemed he did not reckon himself a disciple of Christ, seeing he thought it such presumption in others. They were all committed to the lower Tolbooth, and at night closely confined, excepting Robert Barclay and Patrick Livingston, who were set at liberty, and were very loath to part from their brethren. Among their number, are the names of William Gellie and James Forbes; the latter having held the rank of major in the army.

Robert Barclay settling with his father at Ury, a Monthly Meeting was established there soon after, for transacting the affairs of the little rising church in that district; also a more public or general meeting, held half-yearly, the first, convened on the opening of the year 1669, was remarkable for the convincement "of several people of good account."

With regard to meetings of the above description, it may be observed, that in this Society, as in that of the first converts to Christianity, ecclesiastical government, or what is often by Friends emphatically termed "the order of Truth," arose with the occasions for it. If the poor required to be cared for and helped, this would have the attention of the gathered church; if any failed of the grace of God, and obeyed not the gospel, these would be admonished, and their restoration diligently sought; but if such labour of love took no effect, the terms of fellowship being broken, there would remain no alternative for those who might desire to be of Christ, but to withdraw from such brother, and acknowledge him not, in a religious sense, by so endearing a tie. In like manner, would other subjects of interesting concern demand the watchful eye and wise decision of a body, whose Head "is not the author of confusion but of peace." In England, such measures had been generally adopted among Friends in the year 1667, at the recommendation of George Fox; but it does not appear that in Aberdeen any settled plan of this kind took effect, until the commencement of the year 1672; when, (to use the language of one of their ancient records)—"Friends in Aberdeen and thereabout, being increased and prospered of the Lord, both as to their number and growth in the Truth, did, in an unanimous love and zeal for the blessed Truth, and its work and service, set up a Monthly Men's Meeting for affairs, in administering true and righteous judgment among themselves in all things, and taking care of the poor, &c.; and appointed a register or record book, to be hereafter carefully kept, for recording what is condescended upon at these meetings: to which book eleven men Friends and fourteen women did set down their names, as belonging to that meeting."

The legitimate objects and extent of church government, appear to have been very early and clearly made out to the view of some Friends; indeed, no

sooner were they constituted as a distinct religious body, than the need of established order became evident to them, and their minds were enlightened and instructed upon the subject. A strong instance of this, is furnished us in the individual experience of Robert Barclay; who, not many years after his own convincement, and at a time when the revival of such primitive and wholesome discipline, might be said comparatively to be in a state of infancy, wrote his admirable Treatise in its favour. The original title, as it stood at length, was, "The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other pretended Churches, equally refused and refuted, in a twofold Apology for the Church and people of God, called in derision Quakers. Wherein they are vindicated from those that accuse them of confusion and disorder on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with tyranny and imposition on the other; showing, that as the true and pure principles of the gospel are restored by their testimony, so is also the ancient apostolical order of the church of Christ, re-established among them, and settled upon its right basis and foundation." This piece appears to have been written about the year 1674, the author being then not above twenty-six years of age. The compiler of "A short Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay," says respecting it,—"The work has passed through several impressions; and as its title when abridged to the few words, 'The Anarchy of the Ranters,' conveys little or no information of its contents, the Yearly Meeting lately ordered an additional title to be prefixed, namely, 'A Treatise on Christian Discipline.' It is a work worthy of general perusal; and particularly claims the attention of all persons, who think it their duty to be active in supporting and executing the discipline of the church." To the above may be subjoined the observation of the writer of his life in the "Biographia Britannica,"—"A very curious and instructive work, in which he with much solidity

and perspicuity lays open the causes, and displays the consequences of superstition on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other, clearing the Quakers from both." It is unquestionable, that the soundness and cogency of his arguments, though often attempted to be overthrown, have stood unshaken; while the views of those, who, from one generation to another, have been rightly engaged in this respect to uphold "the ark and the testimony," have been not only confirmed but enlarged by consulting so sterling a production. See *Appendix, O.*

With regard to this yet youthful author, some evidence has been given, how early and how powerfully his soul was affected with a sense of the Truth, and its inestimable value. Though surrounded by temporal blessings, and now enjoying that chief one, a pious and devoted partner, it does not appear that, on such accounts, he considered himself at liberty to surrender up the ripening powers of manhood to selfish ease or supineness; but rather, that he received these gifts as so many tokens of Divine favour, as marks of promotion to further trust and responsibility, as fresh signals for grateful, vigorous engagement in the warfare of life. Indeed, (to use the language of his grandson, from whose Memoir much of this delineation is obtained,) as though he had a foresight of the shortness of his time in this state of being, he "posted" through those affairs, which he thought himself concerned to perform, with equal alacrity, wisdom, and meekness.

Having now described one of the productions of his pen, and at a preceding page having given some account of his "Apology," it may here be further noticed, that all his publications, together comprising a folio volume of nine hundred pages, were put forth in the course of the first nine years after his marriage, between the age of twenty-two and thirty-one years. Among his other works, the "Catechism and Confession of Faith" still continues to be from time to time reprinted, and is found to be serviceable in explaining

the religious tenets held by the Society. It first appeared in 1673; previous to which time, as we have seen, the Friends were confidently represented as despising and denying the Bible: this compilation, formed entirely from the words of the Sacred Volume, was intended to disprove such groundless assertions. "As the days in which we live," observes his biographer, "are marked by bold attempts to vilify the Scriptures; and as, even under our profession, there have been persons, who have endeavoured to bring them into discredit, thinking to succeed the more easily with a people, who believe in the superior excellence of the Spirit; it is peculiarly interesting to behold in what light Robert Barclay, the able asserter of that superior excellence, viewed the Scriptures. It is further interesting, because some persons have imagined, that Robert Barclay himself countenanced opinions not favourable to the Divine authority of the Scriptures. His works, nevertheless, teem with references to Scripture authority. He never shrinks from the test of Scripture, on disputed points; and in the present work, he declares, that it is his design to let the simple words of Scripture, uncommented on, be the advocates of the cause which he espouses."

It was not, however, by his pen alone, that he endeavoured to serve the world and his Maker; he acted and suffered, like a true reformer, for the honour of the great name. Yet, since he kept only a slight diary of the transactions of his life, with still less allusion in it to his religious feelings, we are deprived of much that might have evinced the extent of his views of dedication, and his fruitfulness as a branch of the true Vine.

In common with many of his fellow-labourers in the glorious cause of spirituality and real holiness, Robert Barclay came under that humbling description of exercise and service, which often engaged them to testify, in various ways against the unsound, mixed, and even corrupt profession of religion, in that day so much prevailing. We are informed, he gave up to obey the call

to some hard and weighty requisitions of this kind; sometimes visiting the congregations of such people, with a word of warning or rebuke. On one occasion in particular, about the beginning of the year 1672, it was his concern, under a strong sense of duty, to pass through three of the principal streets of Aberdeen, clothed in sackcloth, after the manner of some of the ancient prophets, and with similar motives. After he had thus become "a spectacle to men," he wrote a short address to the inhabitants of that place, explaining the nature of this exercise, which the reader will find is given in the Notes. See *Appendix*, P. The sweet savour appearing throughout this paper, the consistency of the whole with sound reason, sobriety, and Christianity, it is presumed, must at least call forth, in the perusal, some sympathetic feeling from hearts that glow with love to souls, and who long that Zion's prosperity may with increasing brightness go forth.

This action is branded, by the writer of his life in the "General Biography," with the name of enthusiasm, and is even stigmatized with marks of contempt by his eulogist in the "Biographia Britannica;" by each of them, however, his sincerity is admitted. But whatever may be the impression made on different readers, according to their particular habits or mode of thinking, with regard to this extraordinary act of an individual, whose character stands too high to be attainted by evil imputation; one point is clear,—that the everlasting Father of his people, has in all ages deputed some of his children to be as delegated shepherds over the flocks of his heritage, and as lights in the midst of "a crooked and perverse generation." To these he has ever committed a testimony, of some description or other, to be borne for his Truth's sake, —a standard to be upheld, in some especial manner, against the course of the prince of darkness, whose machinations and whose maxims are for the most part closely interwoven with, and wrought into, the present constitution of mankind. Of what primary import-

ance, then, is it, that each one of us should give the closest attendance upon those things, that obviously make for our own peace of mind, and individual progress in the life of Christ; rather than presume, in such a case as that before us, to define the precise line of testimony that may or may not be meted out to another; especially where the uniform tenor of conduct and conversation, must be allowed to place that man in very near connexion with his own Master, to whom he must, even in this life, either stand or fall.

But to bring to a close these digressive reflections. In the general history of this period, there are circumstances recorded, which strongly mark the decrepid state of vital religion and sound scriptural morality, then existing as well in England as in Scotland; and it is not surprising, that such wisdom and mercy as rules or overrules all things here below, should raise up remarkable instruments, to effect his own beneficent ends,—by restoring safe paths to walk in, by improving the tone of piety, and thus renewing this portion of the face of his earth. There was surely great occasion for these to be men of plain, uncompromising stamp, that they might effectually do the work assigned,—as it were, to thresh the very mountains, to break up the tough and rugged ground, and in other respects, as they might be commissioned, prepare anew the way of the Lord.

The public labourers raised up in this corner of the vineyard, on which our attention is more exclusively fixed, may be said to have been by no means few in number, in proportion to that of the members generally; and especially considering the small extent district over which Friends were distributed. Nor did the Lord of the vineyard spare to assign them instrumental help in good measure from other quarters; the records of their meetings often stating the names of numerous visiters from England, whom the love of Christ and love to souls, constrained to pass up and down among the flock, confirming their spirit in

these times of trial. On one occasion, it would seem, that at a meeting for worship, such as usually was held introductory to the consideration of their church affairs, the showers of doctrine were so largely dispensed, as to occupy nearly the space of seven hours, and thus to preclude for that time the transaction of all other appointed business.

As "a city that is compact together," or rather as a besieged people within it, vigilance and alacrity, with united cooperation for the safety and for the welfare one of another, sometimes pleasingly shone forth at these meetings, as well as zeal for the spread of the dominion of grace and truth. When, in a particular case, there had transpired some "appearance of a breach and separation" in one or more of their number, the others speedily and simultaneously met with the party, all exceptions were thoroughly heard, and "a plain reckoning" ensued; after which, as the record states, "to the praise of the Lord's free goodness and mercy to his poor people, all differences were taken away, with much brokenness and tenderness of heart, in embracing each other: for which blessed opportunity, Friends publicly and jointly, in his own Spirit and life, returned praises to the Lord." Such a successful illustration of the true labour of love, in the spirit of meekness and of wisdom, is not held up as one peculiarly confined to that generation;—by no means;—rather as an additional encouraging proof of the preciousness of brotherly admonition, order, and concord in the body of Christ.

So, with regard to the promotion of the cause of Christianity, and the furtherance of those that were looking towards Zion, with faces thitherward turned, it is pleasing to find many instances, where Friends, in the line of unreserved dedication, have held themselves open, with all readiness, to entertain and give way to clear intimations of their duty in these respects. Hence we find a minister in good estimation, George Gray, of Caskieben, about eight miles from

Aberdeen, informing Friends at their Monthly Meeting, of a people in his neighbourhood, who thirsted after the assemblies of this despised Society, although they could not as yet "well digest silent meetings;" and what he desired was, that Friends would consider their case, "that if so be, the Lord may be pleased to move some Friends [of Aberdeen] to come thither;" a meeting having, as he informed them, been already appointed to be held twice in the month at John Glennie's at Colliehill Mill on that account.

Connected with this last remark, is another circumstance worthy of preservation, as follows: "John Forbes, merchant in Ellon, having left the preachers and public meetings there, and come into the mid-monthly meetings, showed Friends, that he had been before the Kirk Sessions, being cited for forsaking their ordinances, as they call them; and that he had asserted their minister to be no minister of Christ, neither these ordinances those of Christ's; upon which he was cited to the Presbytery of Ellon: and withal, having read a paper he had drawn, with which Friends have good union, wherein many pertinent Scriptures were cited for several points of our testimony against the common doctrine of the nation—Friends thought fit to go to Ellon next First-day, and keep a meeting in his house." Accordingly, "R. Barclay, G. Keith, D. Falconer, T. Mercer, A. Harper, J. Cowie, T. Milne, J. Skene, A. Somervill, and A. Skene went all to Ellon, and kept a meeting in John Forbes' house from half hour to twelve till the fourth hour in the afternoon; where we had a good meeting, the people not only filling the room, but flocking about the door and windows, which were purposely opened unto them." About one month after this, John Forbes is requested on behalf of Friends, to look out for some more convenient place for the congregation who assemble at his house every First-day, one half of their number not being able, it is said, to gain admittance.

CHAPTER VI.

1672: The "Clergy" and Magistrates of Aberdeen, further incensed against this people, procure the demolition of the walls of their burial-ground, and the disinterment of their dead—Letter of William Dewsbury—John Swintoune and Robert Barclay imprisoned at Montrose, together with some Friends at that place, for holding a meeting: their Address to the Magistrates—1683: Andrew Jaffray convinced, and several more—the Provost and Magistrates of Aberdeen strenuously importune the King's Council against the "Quakers"—they are examined and fined—Hugh Neilson's disappointment of the fines, by a proclamation of the Government—death of Alexander Jaffray—his wife's convincement and death.

In a preceding page, allusion was made to the defective state of moral and religious feeling, so variously developed in the history of the times now under notice. In connexion with this subject, one sad illustration is here to be introduced, of the length to which men may be carried, when they release themselves from the obligations of Christianity and a civilized state.

About the beginning of the year 1672, several persons both in Aberdeen and its vicinity, withdrawing from the religion established by law, the public preachers of the city were so incensed as to procure, by their influence with the magistrates, the pulling down and demolishing the walls of a burial-ground, which the people called Quakers had purchased with their own money; and wherein a child of Thomas Milne had been a few days before interred. The body of this child, after three days' interment, was, by order of the provost and bailies, taken out of the ground, and carried to a village called Futtee, or Foot of Dee, where they had a grave made for it. But a rumour being raised by some malicious persons, as if Friends had, to deceive the magistrates, taken out the child's body, and filled the coffin with somewhat else, they

ordered the coffin to be broken open; in doing which, the corpse was injured, and actually was made to bleed though so long dead. In the same year in which this piece of wanton inhumanity was acted, an unusual mortality is stated to have taken place among the children of that place, such as had not occurred in the memory of any person then resident there. The very next day after the raising of the body of this child, it so happened, that John Scott, one of those magistrates who had been the most active instrument in this affair, had his own favourite grandchild unintentionally killed by the servant, which occasioned much outcry of distress in that family. Going on in his usual course of wickedness, among similar acts, often causing the walls of the burial-place and premises to be pulled down, &c. he was, shortly after, suspended in his career by a fall which fractured his leg. They, nevertheless, continued to remove every corpse that was interred in the same ground; nor did the barbarous practice cease, till a representation being made to the King's Council, a secret check was given them, and this more than ordinary inhumanity put a stop to. See *Appendix*, Q.

In the latter part of this year, Alexander Skene produced at the Monthly Meeting a letter, addressed to Friends in Scotland, from William Dewsbury; the minister by whose instrumentality, it will be recollected, Alexander Jaffray and others at Aberdeen, were first induced more fully to adopt, as well as publicly to avow in that city, the principles of Friends. Without doubt, there were not any likely to appreciate such epistolary counsel more duly than these, who could regard the writer of it as their spiritual father, one that, to a certain extent, had in Christ Jesus begotten them through the gospel,—themselves also as his work in the Lord.—A copy of the letter is preserved, as follows.

"Warwick, 29th of 8th month, 1672.

"My dear Friends,

"All watch and wait in the light of the Lord, that every thought be judged down, that is contrary to the light; then will the cross be laid to the ground of your own thoughts, and the true baptism of Christ [be] known, which will bury you in such deep humility and sense of the free mercy of the Lord, [as] to raise you up in the living faith, to reign over your own thoughts and wills. Then will you be born again into a pure subjection to the pure light, [to the] thoughts and will of God, which is our sanctification and perfection of glory manifested within us, &c.; and so will you witness the new and holy birth, which makes self of no reputation, neither boasteth in any thing it doth; but followeth the Lord in his pure leadings, to serve him and his people in love, in whatever he calls into, to the perfecting of his praises, and the comfort of his people for ever!

"In which life, feel the yearning bowels of your brother towards you, who are truly poor in spirit; for, the unspeakable mercies of the Most High God, is your inheritance for ever! The Almighty God keep all your garments clean in his holy power, and in it exercise you, to the building up one another in your most holy faith; that, in the pure chaste love, you may grow up in the unity of the spirit and bond of peace, to shine forth as the morning stars to enlighten the people in that nation. Oh! be faithful, my dear Friends; for the Lord hath a great people in Scotland; for whom I, with many of our brethren, have travailed, in jeopardy of our lives, in years past, casting our bread upon the waters, with hopes to find it after many days. And seeing God hath called you to be the first fruits, and to make you a blessing, as you wait to be ordered of the Lord, as before written,—then will my great expectation be answered in the behalf of the holy Seed, whom my soul loves in that

land,—and remains your dear brother in the light, thoughts, and will of our God for ever!

"WILLIAM DEWSBURY."

"Read this in the fear of the Lord, and send copies amongst the meetings of his holy people in Scotland."

A transaction recorded in manuscript, as having taken place in the course of this year in the neighbourhood of Montrose, should here be brought into notice.—John Swintoune, who had been in the north, and was then on his return southwards, in conjunction with Robert Barclay, had it on their minds to be at the meeting of Friends belonging to Kinnaber and Montrose, which was proposed to be held at the latter place on the 8th of the 10th month, being the First day of the week. The circumstances in which this little company then stood, were as follows. There had been for some years a meeting for worship kept up at Kinnaber, near Montrose; but, the views held by the Society coming to be adopted by some persons at Montrose, it was deemed desirable, they should occasionally assemble in that town. During the space of at least two months before, most or all of these Friends had been detained in prison, on account of this public testimony towards God; but by an order from the King's Council at Edinburgh, their freedom had been just then acquired. So that they were about to evince, on this the very first occasion that presented after dismissal from confinement, their grateful sense of allegiance to the Majesty of heaven, by humbling themselves before His presence, who had granted them support and deliverance in the time of trouble. Thus situated, J. Swintoune and R. Barclay came to visit them, and lodged at William Napier's, where the meeting was to be held the next day. They met accordingly, and enjoyed a good season together in solemn worship; undisturbed by the magistrates, although they had declared, they would recommit the Friends whenever they assembled after that manner.

Having separated and mostly withdrawn, the town officers entered, saying, that they had orders from the magistrates to detain them there, till their own worship should be over, it being then near three o'clock. About an hour after this, William Napier, the master of the house, was called for to the council-house, where the magistrates were then met. J. Swintoune and R. Barclay did not think fit to forsake their host, though the officer endeavoured to prevent their accompanying him. On this, they asked him, if they also were prisoners? he said, No: they were not called for. J. S. and R. B., however, went forward. William Napier being called up, the magistrates demanded, Whether he would still trouble their town? He asked, Wherein? They said, In having meetings in his house. He, without confessing or denying the fact, said, He hoped there was no law against the worship of God, and that this could be no crime. They told him, He was to go back to prison, whence he had been so lately released. J. S. and R. B., having intimated their desire to speak to the magistrates, were next called; upon which the former, not knowing their decision with regard to Napier, addressed them to this effect: That he and his friend, coming to town the night before, were resolved to stay the next day, being the First day of the week, and took up their quarters at W. Napier's house. On which occasion, several of his friends were there; and how employed, any of the magistrates might have been witnesses, had they been so disposed; but his friends, being about to repair to their respective places of abode on their lawful occasions, were detained by their officers. The provost said, They had been at a meeting, which was contrary to law. J. S. called upon him to prove this, as they were not about to accuse themselves. The provost said, They were not going to dispute with them; and, without going aside or consulting with the rest, told them, They also were to go to prison; for it was clear, they were at a meeting; and if the Friends thought

themselves wronged, they might complain against them. J. S. told them, Their being sent to prison was a preconcerted measure, and reasoned with them on the injustice of their proceedings, desiring them, for their own sakes, to consider further what they were doing, now that they had heard what he and his friends had to say; else they might repent it, if they sent them to prison. On this, the magistrates seemed to hesitate, and conferred together; but quickly returned, repeating, They were to go to prison. After some further demur, the Friends told the magistrates, They were not afraid of their prison; that the weight of their proceedings would come upon themselves, and reflect on their justice. They replied, It would but cost them an application to the King's Council for their release; —thereby meaning to reflect, (it was thought,) on J. S., by whose means the former release had been procured.

"On the 12th," to use the language of their record, "we found it with us to send a letter to the provost, bailies, and Council of Montrose, a copy of which hereafter follows; and now, at the writing hereof, being the 21st of the 10th month, we are in prison, quiet, and in much love together; our way being hitherto hedged up from making any application to those in supreme authority in this nation, were it but to represent the iniquity and injustice of these men's proceedings, who are filled with wrath, malice, and envy against the Seed, Christ, and those that are in Him. [Indeed] we have notice, signified under the hand of one that is somewhat friendly, that they have threatened, (in case the King's Council shall release us, which they think likely,) to send men in disguise into our meetings to break our bones. But the Lord is with us, and is on our side; and we are filled with quietness and contentedness here: glory to his name, his arm, his power, for ever, who hath done it!—and, indeed, it is well with us! And this is written for the satisfaction of Friends and others, to whose hands it

shall come; desiring to be remembered by all Friends, as the dear remembrance of them is with us,—yea, of all the Friends of Truth and followers of the Lamb, far and near. And it is our purpose and resolution, in the strength of the Lord, not to go from off this place, but as clear men; being in all six, namely, John Swintoune, Robert Barclay, William Napier, John Milne, William Low, James Nuccoll."

The following is a copy of the letter above alluded to, addressed by them to the magistrates of Montrose —a nobly-toned and touching appeal, at once exhibiting the fortitude and patience with which Christianity would invest us.

"Friends,

"Our case being as it was, and as some of us fully represented it to you, how could you in justice deal with us as you have done,—in the middle of winter, to send us, whose occasions lie elsewhere, to a cold and desolate prison? Well! the just God beholdeth your injustice and oppression; iniquity lieth at your door, and we are to lay it upon you, and to charge you in the name of the Lord God, that you beware for the future to be found in such practices, and, in the sense that you have done evil herein, be resolved to do so no more; that, if possible, your iniquities in this and the like cases, (for this is not the first,) may be forgiven you. As well, also, the thoughts of your hearts,—which are, to banish Truth and a true people out of your coasts, or to vanquish them, by tempting them to unfaithfulness, and to forsake that testimony, which they are to bear among you—which they must bear, and cannot forbear it. You have undertaken, with many of this day, to raise the burdensome stone, which many have found too heavy for them, and many have dashed themselves upon it, and many have been ground to powder by it, whose remembrance is as a stink in this day! And therefore, be ye warned, to take heed, and consider in time what you have done, that, if pos-

sible, you may find a place of repentance, and do so no more.

"As for us, we are not afraid of you, nor ashamed of our testimony, and you cannot vanquish us. You imagine a vain thing, and you will herein weary yourselves with very vanity.

"Now, whereas you may think to cover yourselves with this [plea:] 'We are but inferior magistrates: and we must obey the laws, that require us to suppress conventicles, and to punish conventiclers.' Well, it is confessed, you are but inferior magistrates, and therefore have not an arbitrary power; but are to proceed according to law, when you proceed—though they were found blamable, who walked willingly after the unjust commandment, Hosea, v. 11. But, let the laws be what they may, you have proceeded herein without and contrary to all law, and shadow of it; and have therein manifested your injustice, and the unreasonablenes of your proceedings, through your malice against the Truth and its friends. And herein lies the weight and depth of your iniquity; in which you have manifested yourselves and your spirit, and may procure the plagues and judgments of the Lord to be poured upon this town, and many may come to feel the smart of your doings. Verily, we were ashamed on your behalf, in the instant of time, and on the behalf of our native country; that, in a place so considerable as this, you should demean yourselves so unjustly, so palpably, having no shadow of a rational cover for your proceedings.

"Well! we ask nothing of you, but that you come to a sense of your past way, that you may not fall into the like for the future. And as for us, we are well contented to stay here, until the due time of our deliverance come; and our expectations, (be it known to you,) are neither from the hills nor from the mountains, but from God alone. Our case is committed to Him who judges righteously! We are, as regards our testimony and for its sake, well contented, well

pleased, well satisfied, to be here; our bonds are not grevious to us: glory to the Lord for ever!—who hath not been, who is not wanting to us,

"JOHN SWINTOUNE,	ROBERT BARCLAY,
"WILLIAM NAPIER,	JAMES NUCCOLL,
"JOHN MILNE,	WILLIAM LOW."

We are not informed, in the above record, how long these sufferers for the testimony of a good conscience, were thus detained, or by what means their liberation was effected; although it may be presumed this was brought about soon after, as a minute of Aberdeen Monthly Meeting, states the release of John Swintoune to have taken place early in the 11th month, in consequence of an order from the King's Council, and that he was then on his way to Edinburgh, with the view of laying the case of his friends in general before the government. See *Appendix*, R.

The convincement of Andrew, son of Alexander Jaffray, and that of several others of Aberdeen and parts adjacent, about the beginning of the year 1673, afresh excited the indignation of those termed the clergy. At their instigation, the provost, and others of the magistrates, came to a Monthly Meeting held by Friends, on the 6th of the 3rd month, and took the names of all present, both men and women; this list they forwarded by William Gordon, their agent, to the King's Council, charging him with instructions, strenuously to importune the Council against this peaceable people. His business, as it appears, he executed with the utmost assiduity. But shortly after, it happened, that he went down from Edinburgh to Leith to hear a sermon; and, in the time of it, going out of the place of worship, he was presently after found dead.

Upon the solicitation of this William Gordon, the Council, on the 1st of the 5th month, sent a summons to nineteen of this people; who accordingly appearing before them at Edinburgh on the 10th, after two

sittings of the Council, were fined, and their several fines assigned to one Hugh Neilson, an apothecary of that city. While he was busying himself in a process at law for recovering the fines, the King's Commissioners and Council issued a proclamation, remitting all penalties and fines for nonconformity, except such as were already paid, or engaged for by the parties' bond, or other security. This cleared the people called Quakers; for their principle was, neither to pay the fines, nor in any wise to compound for them; their strict observance of which, entitled them to the benefit of the above proclamation, and disappointed Hugh Neilson in his attempts against them.

Previous to the issuing of this proclamation, some of the Friends who were likely to be sufferers by the endeavours of Hugh Neilson, addressed him a letter, dated the 30th of the 7th month; in which they strongly pleaded their innocency of any crime, for which in justice they ought to be fined, urging their conscientious objection to fulfil his demand, and warning him, in solemn language, to despise the gain of oppression." This paper is signed by Alexander Skene, David Barclay, and others. It is further stated, that this person was so wrought upon, either by the letter above alluded to, or which is more probable, by his own utter disappointment of his prey, that he exclaimed, he should never trouble the Quakers more, for it was unhappy to have any thing to do against them.

Thus did the Lord, who is the keeper of his people and their shade upon their right hand, remarkably appear in many instances of his protecting care towards those that trusted in him, some of which are not here enumerated. While, therefore, the Scriptural language is grievously true of many wicked, "When thy hand is lifted up, they will not see;" yet are there in all ages, such ample proofs of providential interposition and disposal of events, as should certainly tend to bring about, in the hearts of those not yet utterly hardened, that blessed crisis, when "all men shall fear,

and shall declare the work of God; for they shall wisely consider of his doing."

We are now to approach the close of Alexander Jaffray's career, whose religious experience, developed in his Diary, may be considered as having opened the very root and ground of the rise of the Society of Friends in Scotland. On the 7th of the 5th month, 1673, at the age of fifty-nine years, he was removed from among them, and from the warfare of this life, in full assurance of a glorious and immortal inheritance among the blessed of all generations.

During his illness, which lasted twelve days, he gave forth, in the presence of many Friends and others, very substantial attestation to that most excellent dispensation of gospel light and truth, unto which he had of late years been more perfectly and fully brought; in which also, he had given up with all readiness of mind to walk, and in defence of which, resignedly to suffer. Among other expressions, these following abundantly prove the blessed condition of his spirit, up to the awful change.

He remarked, it was his great joy and comfort in that trying hour, that ever he had been counted worthy to bear a testimony to, and suffer for that invaluable principle of Christ's inward appearance in the hearts of the children of men, visiting all by his light, grace, and good Spirit, which convinceth of sin. And further, that the great judgment and condemnation of many in the nation, especially the religious professors, was and would be, their having so slighted and despised, yea, hated this Divine light, and the witnesses of it.

Being overcome in spirit, he occasionally said, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes spiritually have seen, my heart hath felt, and feeling, shall for ever feel, thy salvation!"

He also left this prediction among his friends, that a time of great and near trial was shortly coming upon Friends in that corner of the land, wherein hypocrites

should be discovered and made manifest; but that a faithful remnant, even the upright, lowly ones, the lowly shrubs, should be preserved and brought through the fiery trial with great comfort, when tall and sturdy oaks should be overthrown. And further, that this winnowing season should be attended with, or followed by, a breaking forth of a greater glory and power, than he or others had ever known in that quarter. This remarkable language was judged to be plainly verified in all its parts, as well by the great accession of suffering, which, within three years of his decease, was permitted to befall the Friends of Aberdeen, as by the opposite effect these sufferings had upon the dedicated and upon the disobedient.

Sometimes, when very sick, he would bless the Lord, that now fighting with a natural death, he had not an angry God to deal with. "Oh!" said he, "the sting of death is fully gone, and death is mine; being reconciled to me, as a sweet passage, through Him that loved me." And again, he signified, that the Lord had given him the garments of praise, instead of the spirit of heaviness. Another time, seeing a candle in the room almost gone out, he said, "My natural life is near at an end, like that candle, for want of nourishment or matter to entertain it; but in this [respect] we shall differ, that if it be let alone, that goes out with a stink, but I shall go out with a good savour: praises to my God for ever!"

A little before his breath ceased, he declared, He had been with his God, and had seen deep things: about which time, he was filled in a wonderful manner with the power of Christ, which much affected those present; and very shortly after, he gently passed away!

One of the earliest minutes recorded by the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Aberdeen, in the book provided for the purpose of entering the affairs of the Society, to which allusion has been already made, has the following simple notice of his death: "It pleased the

Lord to remove out of the body our dear and precious Friend, Alexander Jaffray, at his own house in Kingswells, the 7th of the 5th month, 1673, at one in the morning; who was buried in his own burial-ground there, upon the 8th day. He was a sincere, upright-hearted man all his time, and one that had been a seeker of the Lord from his youth up, and had much of the life of Jesus and spirit of holiness attending his heart all along, as his conversation witnessed; and died with blessed and living testimonies to the honour of Truth, before many professors and profane, who came to see him."

Little more than three months elapsed after the death of Alexander Jaffray, when Sarah his wife was called away, to join him and "the spirits of just men made perfect." Her maiden name was Cant, a daughter of Andrew Cant. From one passage in the Diary, it may be inferred, that, at least on the particular occasion of trial there alluded to, this helpmeet of our Friend was in some danger of adding, by her unbelief or impatience, to his many sources of trial, rather than of mitigating his sorrows. However this may have actually been, the sequel will prove, that her end was a striking comment on her husband's path, and even as a seal to his dying testimony:—so remarkably, oftentimes, are the expectations, endeavours, and prayers of the faithful answered; whether they be permitted or not, to see the travail of their soul accomplished, the ends of their faith fully brought about. The above authentic record, which has been just quoted, furnishes us with this short but very interesting document respecting her: "The 2nd of 7th month, 1673:"—"The same day, Sarah Cant, relict of our late dear Friend, Alexander Jaffray, came into our meeting, and owned [the way of] truth publicly, [as it is professed by Friends;] which was a speaking testimony, considering her parentage and education; [she] being mightily wrought upon to avow truth publicly, by her worthy husband's remarkable dying, with such

demonstration therein." Her decease took place as early after this circumstance, as the 24th of the next month, and her remains were interred at Kingswells. See *Appendix*, S.

The author of these pages has not been able definitively to ascertain, that Alexander Jaffray was ever actually considered in the light of a minister; although he is fully prepared to suppose this was not the case. At this early period, it does not appear to have been a stated practice among the Friends in Scotland, to give forth any testimonial, either in the name of one or more individuals, or in that of a congregation, declaratory of the character of deceased worthies, and of the estimation in which they had been held by their friends. This obligation towards the departed, soon, however fastened on the minds of the living, in such a way, that few, especially among those whose doctrine and life had conspiciously shone forth, but were held up to the view of succeeding generations, as examples "whose faith" they might be encouraged to "follow, considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

Without conceding, in the slightest degree, the safe and true position, that those in this character must be expressly ordained, raised up, put forth, and furnished for the awfully-humbling work committed to them; there is great occasion for us prominently to bear in mind, that these, thus selected for a particular service, are but vessels,—as indeed are all other members of the church,—mere instruments, made use of just in such manner and so long as the chief Shepherd, "the Lord, hath need of" them. When Peter, accompanied by John, wrought a special miracle on the lame man, Acts, 3rd chapter, he said, "Such as I have, give I unto thee;" and afterward, to the Jews, "Why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness, we had made this man to walk?" And certainly, "His name," (which comprehends his power,) "through

faith in his name,"—yea, "the faith which is by him," when rightly received and applied,—is that which the followers of a crucified Redeemer, in every age, as well ministers as hearers, have alone to look to for sufficiency unto every good word and work. Various are the dispensations of what are termed the ordinary spiritual gifts conveyed to the members of that mystical body, of which Christ is the Head; and, if we have been baptized by one Spirit into this one body, we have each of us "severally" received a share in these, which it becomes our duty to occupy with and to improve. While, then, we are bound to "esteem" those "very highly in love, for their work's sake," who labour in word and doctrine, let us also deeply sympathize with them. These messengers have no exclusive claim or prerogative on Divine bounty. Like the beautiful cloud in the heaven, they may be laden with a blessing, like the trumpet, they may be filled with "a certain" and a thrilling sound; but we have no proof, they are privileged beyond what may be the attainment of those who have no such peculiar vocation. God hath preeminently chosen, in every age, the weak things, the foolish things, and things that are not, to be his instruments in this line, lest we should unduly look to or lean upon them, and that "no flesh should glory in his presence." And those that "will be the chiefest," that seem to be somewhat, that are even "worthy of double honour," commonly have laid upon them the heavier burdens, have to pass under more humiliating baptisms, and are placed obvious to greater temptations. Not only have they nothing but what they receive, but they have the more to account for, and in a more full sense than any others, are made servants of all. They point to the Giver of every good and perfect gift,—which is also the case with all who let their "light shine;" they testify of that grace and truth, which is at once sufficient for others as for themselves, and which can come by Him alone, who is given to be "Head over all things to the church."

With these observations on the agency and help of our fellow-mortals, shall the memorial of so estimable a Christian as Alexander Jaffray be dismissed; under a fervent feeling of desire,—which has uniformly attended the mind of his Biographer, whilst holding up so bright an example,—that, as of men he sought not glory, so all may be ascribed to the Great First Cause, who is supremely and everlastingly worthy!

CHAPTER VII.

1673: The magistrates make a second application to the king's council, and the "clergy" solicit Archbishop Sharpe against the "Quakers" —proclamation against house and field conventicles—1674: Friends are forcibly put out of their meeting-house—Thomas Dockery taken from prayer to prison, also William Gellie—Friends are denounced by name as rebels at the market-cross, and their personal property declared forfeited to the king—David Rait's disturbance of them in their meetings; his fearful end—1675: conference of Robert Barclay and George Keith with some college students, four of whom join the society—1676: declaration relative to conventicles—thirty-four Friends are imprisoned—they are tried by a court of commissioners—their defence, sentence, and treatment—letter of Isaac Penington—Robert Barclay, visiting the churches, on his return from Holland and Germany, petitions the king on behalf of Friends—further proceedings of the commissioners—case of John Thompson.

The magistrates of Aberdeen were not discouraged by their late unsuccessful attempts against the Society of Friends, but renewed their application to the king's council at Edinburgh; whilst those called clergy, on their part, strenuously solicited Archbishop Sharpe's patronage; alleging, that "the Quakers' schism was prejudicial to the interest of the church, and that by using a separate burial-place, they prevented the payment of the fees customary on these occasions." But this complaint, when laid before the council, was effectually obviated by the representation of Friends, with

regard to their disinterment of the dead bodies, before related. The council, upon hearing both sides, did not think proper to interpose their authority in this case; the deputation were accordingly dismissed, and returned home, without attaining their purpose.

This people, however, were not long left unmolested. A proclamation had lately been issued from the king's council against house or field conventicles, with a bond attached, to be subscribed by heads of families and others, obliging themselves and those under them not to keep such meetings or be present at them, under a penalty. The magistrates of Aberdeen, making use of this handle, came several times to the meetings of Friends in that city, requiring all present to subscribe the bond; and on their refusal, took down their names. But, on the 7th of 5th month, 1674, in particular, the provost, with other magistrates and officers, commanded them to depart, and because they refused, directed that they should be forcibly put out of their meeting-house; which was done. Friends, nevertheless, quietly resumed their station within the walls, on the magistrates withdrawing from the spot; and in the performance of their reasonable, unobtrusive service towards their Maker, felt the strength of his divine presence in measure amongst them, whereby some, particularly Robert Barclay and George Keith, were enabled to declare of his goodness, and vocally to celebrate his worthy name!

On that and a succeeding day, Friends were generally fined according to the bond; and, on the 15th, Thomas Dockery, an English Friend, being engaged in prayer, was taken by the town-sergeants, and lodged in the Tolbooth for upwards of thirteen weeks; as was also William Gellie soon after, for the like offence, during nearly the same period. The next step taken against Friends, in pursuance of the act of Parliament against conventicles, and the order in council, was to denounce them all by name at the market-cross as rebels against the state, and to declare their personal

property forfeited to the king's use. It will be supposed, that all reasonable measures were taken by a people so abused, to represent their case to those in power, as well as to remonstrate with their immediate oppressors. A declaration was addressed to the council by the sufferers, and signed individually by them, which sets forth in appropriate terms the dutiful demeanor and principles of this religious body towards the government,—well known even in those early days, —and their conscientious scruple against signing the bond in question.

The example of such, who in the line of official duty, should have been a terror only to evil doers, no doubt would operate powerfully in encouraging the more ignorant and debased among the people, to acts of turbulent malice; while the incentives to persecution openly offered to both these classes, by the teachers of religion, must have had a still greater effect. The meetings of Friends were, in consequence, not unfrequently attended by those, whose minds seemed bent on disturbance and despitefulness. It was, doubtless, to this state of things as it then existed in Aberdeen, that Robert Barclay alludes in his "Apology," a quotation from which is given in the Notes. See *Appendix*, T. One envious opposer, David Rait, was especially active: for the space of two years, was he in the practice of using all endeavours to interrupt them in the hours appropriated for divine worship; being usually accompanied and abetted by a number of the college students, whose conduct was insulting and outrageous in the extreme.

About this time, Thomas Fern, who came from England to visit his brethren in Scotland, was concerned to preach in one of their public meetings; and whilst thus engaged, was often interrupted by this David Rait, whom he repeatedly cautioned to desist from so evil a practice as this of turbulent railing; at length, after long forbearance, he solemnly warned him to beware, lest he should very shortly incur some re

markable judgment from the hand of God. Within a few days after, this wicked man fell under extreme anguish and terror of conscience, crying out continually, that the judgments of God were upon him for his abuses and molestations of this people in their religious meetings. Under which concern, he was incessantly restless, until he had sent for David and Robert Barclay from Ury to visit him; upon whose coming, with some Friends from Aberdeen, he begged them, with many tears, to forgive him, crying out, "Help, help, help! I never wronged any but you, and will beg your help on my knees," &c. Moved with compassion, Friends not only expressed their forgiveness of him, but prayed unto the Lord on his behalf; after which he recovered, and his mind became easy and quiet. On the restoration of his health, this man, notwithstanding, returned to his former practices, the iniquity of which seemed to be aggravated by his notorious ingratitude. Thus he continued, until a spirit of distraction seized and settled on him, under which he ended his days.

On the 14th of the 2nd month, 1675, a public conference or dispute was held at Aberdeen in the presence of some hundreds of people, between Robert Barclay and George Keith on one part, and some students of divinity, so called, on the other: the occasion of which was this. Robert Barclay, with a view of rescuing the Society from the odium under which they lay, through gross misrepresentation of their doctrines from the pulpits, published his "Theses," which was the ground-work of the "Apology;" giving a brief and plain account of the principles owned by them, that the public might have a fair opportunity of candidly considering the subject. At the end of these Propositions, he offered to defend them in those places, where they had been thus misrepresented, and against such persons as had so traduced them. But none of these, namely, the public preachers, choosing to accept the proposal, and by a fair and sober discussion to inform

themselves what they were; this method seems to have been pitched upon;—namely, to select some from among the students of their University to take up the cause, as of themselves; that if those termed Quakers should have the advantage, the consequence would be immaterial, in a contest with young men. Friends were under no obligation to join issue with these youths, as it was not to them, but to the public preachers, who propagated these misrepresentations, the proposal was made. But, as they were not afraid of meeting the greatest and ablest, so the Truth, they thought, led them not to despise any, who might be disposed in a becoming manner to treat with them on "the reason of the hope" that was in them. The dispute was accordingly held for the appointed space of three hours; but terminated, as such disputes generally do, in tumult and disorder; the students handling serious subjects with levity, and at last triumphing in a victory which they had not obtained. Having numbers on their side, they used clamour and personal abuse, and wounding them with clods and stones, thus put an end to the debate. But the result proved on which side the advantage lay; for four of the students present, though not disputants, were so fully convinced of the reasonableness of Friends' principles, that they joined them in society, and gave forth a written declaration under their hand, stating the grounds of their change, which was afterward printed at the close of a controversial piece of Robert Barclay's, in reply to the student's objections. See *Appendix*, U.

In the month called March, 1676, the Council at Edinburgh issued a declaration, reinforcing former acts of Parliament against conventicles, and recommending the execution of them to the sheriffs and magistrates of corporations. Although this proclamation expressly related to such as had been outlawed by the Council; yet the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of Aberdeen took occasion from it, to oppress those persons, of all others, against whom they well knew it was never

intended to be stretched. So precipitate was their malice, and so ready were they for the work of persecution, that, upon the mere information of a traveller, and before the regular notification reached them, or was proclaimed in their town, the provost, bailies, and officers came to the Friends' meeting-house, on the 12th of the month, and committed twelve of them to the new Tolbooth; several days after which, the prisoners heard, from their windows, the public proclamation of the law that had been thus eagerly put in force against them.—The like measures were pursued for the space of two months, by which time the number of those lodged in prison amounted to thirty-four.

At length, the prisoners received a summons to appear before the Earl of Errol, the Earl Marischall, and "Sir John Keith," afterwards Earl of Kintore, three of the Privy Council, appointed Commissioners to put into execution the acts made against keeping conventicles. Accordingly, being called up before these, on the 26th of the 3rd month, a long libel was exhibited against them, reciting the heads of the acts of Parliament against conventicles, and the withdrawing from that mode of worship established by law. The libel being read, was to be enforced by Patrick Hay, the only lawyer who could be procured to plead against them; but his oratory failing him, his plea was confined to this brief query, "Who gave you leave to preach?" which, for want of pertinent matter, he repeated several times.

The inquiry being put to the prisoners, Whether or not they were guilty according to the indictment; David Barclay replied:—That, though it was ordinary, for such as were stated under the circumstances it had pleased God to put them, to entertain lawyers to plead for them; yet they, having the One Advocate with the Father, that would and could plead their innocency in the hearts of all their opposers, they might not employ any man to plead for them. And, inasmuch as none of them had followed the practice of

law, it was desired, that no advantage might be taken against them on account of their ignorance of the intricacies of it;—also that the rigor of it might not be extended towards them, if they should be found transgressors, (which they hoped to make appear was not the case,) there being a maxim, owned by all, that *Summum jus* is *summa injuria*. He further added, That the prisoners were most unjustly charged, with having kept three meetings in the week since the 1st month, 1674; whereas several of them had been, in that time, beyond the sea, others in England, and many had not been in Aberdeen for several months during those years.

Hereupon, he was interrupted by the inquiry, Whether they would own that they had been at any conventicles; to which they made answer, That they were not to be their own accusers. It was said, This could be proved by witnesses; to which David Barclay said, He expected, that, according to law, equity, and reason, he might except against these. Upon this, several college students were called in, against whom David Barclay objected, that they were *socii criminis*, having themselves joined in keeping such meetings; and further, that they had lately published a book expressly against the prisoners, in the very title page of which, they accuse them of blasphemy and treason,—and therefore were manifestly prejudiced persons. Then the magistrates, who committed them, were called upon; but these also were excepted against, as those who had to put the laws in force, and were accusers. To this, the Earl Marischall replied, They should then have no witnesses at all. Yet did the Commissioners overrule these objections; and such evidence was received.

The prisoners then gave in their written defence; showing, at some length, and by various legal pleas, that they were not the persons against whose practices the acts in question were levelled; also taking notice of their imprisonment, contrary to law, by the magis-

trates for near three months; and further, boldly testifying, that it was merely out of that duty they owed to God, and in obedience to his commands, that they dare not forsake the assembling of themselves together in his name, and not out of any contempt of those in authority. "And if for this," continues the document, "the Lord should permit us to suffer, we trust he will furnish us with such a measure of resignation of all that we have, to his disposing, that we shall not count any thing too dear, when it comes in competition with His honour and our duty to Him. But, we shall not wish any in present authority to be instruments thereof, seeing the Lord hath said to his people, 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.'"

After an hour or two spent by the court in deliberation, the prisoners, being called one by one, were severally asked, Whether they would oblige themselves not to go any more to meetings? which every one of them refusing to do, they were again ordered to withdraw; and after some time, being called in again, the sentence of the court was read to them, whereby David Barclay, Alexander Gellie, Robert Burnett, Alexander Harper, Alexander Skene, Andrew Jaffray, and Alexander Forbes were fined, each in one fourth of their respective valued rents, for their own keeping conventicles, and an eighth part of the same each for withdrawing from the public worship. Three of the above were, besides, to pay an eighth part for their wives' transgressions, conformable to the tenor of the act. Those that were not landed proprietors, were fined as follows: Andrew Galloway, Thomas Milne, and George Keith, £30 each; William Sparke, £40; James Forbes, £25., and the rest twenty merks apiece. And, over and above, John Skene and George Keith, because they were "found to have preached and prayed at these unwarrantable meetings," were "to find caution, under the pain of five thousand merks, not to do the like hereafter, or else to enact

themselves to remove out of the kingdom," agreeable to the act of parliament.—This John Skene is thus described by Proud in his History of Pennsylvania, introduction, p. 100. "John Skene was a person of great service and integrity, both in his religious and civil conduct; he was near two years Governor of West Jersey, and died in the year 1687. He was a preacher among the Quakers, had suffered much for his religion in his native country, where he had distinguished himself in its cause."

The whole number were then remanded to prison, till payment of the fines, where their number was increased by the repeated imprisonment of others of their friends from their religious meetings. While thus kept in close confinement, some of them were concerned at times to preach to the people, who would come up to the windows of the prison to hear them; but the magistrates, to prevent this, and to incommode the prisoners, caused the windows to be closed up with boards for a whole week together, and also removed several of them into the higher prison. On one occasion, Alexander Gordon, a bailie of Aberdeen, came in great anger to the lower court-house, where Friends were then imprisoned, and took Andrew Jaffray, while he was declaring, through the window, the gospel of peace and salvation to the people, forthwith thrusting him into the higher prison, where no Friends had as yet been confined. This place is represented as filthy and disgusting beyond most prisons in the nation. The persecutor was, however, so troubled in his conscience for such cruelty, that he afterward confessed to a Friend, he could get no peace nor rest in his mind that night, until he had caused Andrew Jaffray to be returned to the spot, whence he had taken him.

Very seasonable to this unoffending, yet zealous company of "the Lord's freemen," must have proved the succeeding remarkable strain of sympathetic and encouraging communication, coming from so tried a

servant of the Lord as Isaac Penington, and meeting them after they had completed their fourth month of imprisonment.

"For my dear suffering Friends in Scotland.

"Dear Friends and Brethren,

"Who have partaken of the tender mercy and blessed visitation of the Lord. O! blessed be the Lord, who pitied and helped us in our low estate, and whose tender love and mercy hath followed us, from his first visiting us to this present day. And indeed, the Lord is with us,—what can we desire more? —preparing us for himself, preserving us in the life of his blessed Truth, building us up more and more, and causing his Spirit of glory and living power to rest upon us, and the virtue thereof to spring up in us day by day.

"O! the beauty and glory of the day of our God increaseth upon his heritage; O! blessed be the name of the Lord! And to what tend all the workings of the contrary spirit and power, but to eat out its own interest and kingdom, through the Lord's blessed ordering of things; so that all things work together for good, and for the advancing of Truth, and the growth of it in the hearts of God's heritage.

"So, my dear Friends, none look out, either at outward or inward sufferings; but to the Lord only, whose life, Spirit, and power is above them, and bears up all over them, who are in spirit joined to him, faithfully waiting upon him; which God daily teaches and enables his to do. Thus, my dear Friends, feel the Lord's presence and power among you, who is always near his, but especially in the time of their straits, trials, and sufferings; and wait to feel the life, springing, and doing its proper work in each of you day by day, working out what is to be wrought out in any, and working more and more into the glory of the heavenly image; that, through the sufferings, ye may come into the glory, and be crowned with the

glory, virtue, holiness, righteousness, and dominion of life over all; and thus the Son may sit upon his throne in you, and wield his holy and righteous sceptre, and give you dominion in and with him over all that would veil life, or keep it under in any of you. So, my dear Friends, be strong in the Lord, with the strength of the Lord, with which he is clothing those, whom he hath emptied and made weak; for the trials, temptations, and afflictions prepared for, and (as I may say,) lead into the possession of the desired inheritance; where all that the soul hath breathed and waited for, is bestowed upon it by the bountiful hand of the Father of mercies, who keeps covenant and mercy for ever, and renews covenant and mercy day by day.

"So, the tender God of my life, and Father of the blessings and mercies of my once greatly distressed and miserable soul, instruct you, preserve you, watch over you; exercise your spirits most advantageously, daily open you to himself, keep you empty and naked before him of all your own clothing and righteousness, and fill you with that which flows from the pure, living fountain, to the unspeakable joy of your hearts, and the glory of his own name over all for ever!

"Be of good faith, my dear Friends, look not out at any thing, fear none of those things ye may be exposed to suffer, either outwardly or inwardly; but trust the Lord over all, and your life will spring, and grow, and refresh you, and the love and power will purge out and keep out what would hinder its growth. And ye will learn obedience and faithfulness daily more and more, even by your exercises and sufferings; yea, the Lord will teach you the very mystery of faith and obedience; (oh blessed lesson!) and ye shall not be disappointed of your hope or crown, by any thing the enemy can plot or bring about against you, but have the weight of glory increased and enlarged by his temptations and your many sufferings; the wisdom, power, love and goodness of the Lord or-

dering every thing for you, and ordering your hearts in every thing,—you having given up to him, and keeping them continually given up to him in the holy seed of Truth, in which he hath in some measure already joined, and is daily more and more joining you to himself.

"This is the salutation and tender visit of the love of your brother in the Truth, whose breathings are to God for you, and his praises unto him, through the sense of His being with you, and daily showing mercy to you, upholding and preserving you in the midst of your sore trials and afflictions.

"ISAAC PENINGTON."

"London, 5th of 5th month, 1676."

Robert Barclay was at this time engaged from home, in visiting his friends and the churches of Christ as a minister, and went with this object to London; thence, crossing the water, he travelled into Holland and Germany. It is to be regretted, nothing is preserved as to the particulars of this journey on the continent. In the course of it, he commenced acquaintance with Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, who was distantly related to his mother, and with her he had some satisfactory opportunity of conference on religious subjects. The publication of his "Apology" this year, which was printed in Latin at Amsterdam, may very probably have formed a part of his engagement abroad; and it is more than conjectural, as his biographer intimates, that on his return by way of London, the author presented his book to Charles the 2nd. See the "Short Account of R. B.'s Life and Writings," 1802, p. 31. To the credit of the King, he took no offence at the Christian freedom, used by Robert Barclay in his well know address to him, prefixed to that work, which, for its manly style, religious boldness, yet decent respect, has been much admired.

While at the English metropolis, he received intelligence of the imprisonment of his honoured father and

other Friends in Scotland; upon which, beginning to have some interest at court, and access to the King's presence, he delivered into his own hands the following petition on their behalf.

"The State of the Case of the People called Quakers in Scotland, presented unto the King's consideration.

"The Council of Scotland having about three months ago emitted a declaration, to reinforce former acts of Parliament against conventicles, and recommended the execution of them, because of the abuse several persons had made of the King's Indulgence, as the said declaration intimates; some inferior magistrates have taken occasion thereby, to imprison many of them [the "Quakers,"] and some deputies of the Council have stretched the laws against conventicles to the highest degree of severity, by heavy fines and tedious imprisonments, although their practices and principles never gave ground for such procedure.

"It is therefore on the behalf of the said suffering people, with all sincere respect, desired, that it would please the King favourably to recommend their case to the Council of Scotland; that a difference of character may be put upon them, who have ever lived and behaved themselves peaceably under the present government, from such as are said to have abused the Indulgence; with some present relief to those harmless sufferers, to prevent that utter ruin, which, in all probability, will attend so many of them, that live by their labour and trade.

"R. BARCLAY."

The king's secretary, the Duke of Lauderdale, was thereupon instructed to underwrite a favourable reference of the matter, which was done in these words:

"His majesty is graciously pleased to refer this paper to the right honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council in Scotland.

"LAUDERDALE."

"Whitehall, August 7th, 1676."

In a collection of manuscript correspondence, belonging to Colchester Monthly Meeting, is an original letter of Robert Barclay, addressed to Stephen Crisp, and dated the 3rd of the preceding month, which shows that this favourable reference was not obtained without much persevering effort. "I have at last," says he, "after a long and tedious attendance, near finished my business; for the duke of Lauderdale tells me yesterday, he has received order to give me a letter to the council in Scotland, in order to grant Friends their liberty; which he has promised to give me tomorrow, so that I purpose in two or three days to be going homewards."

On the 7th of the 7th month, September, the above statement and reference were presented to the council, then sitting at Edinburgh; and at the same time was delivered in, a brief but respectful "Memorial" from those people at Aberdeen and its vicinity, "in derision called Quakers."

But the council at Edinburgh did not think proper to interfere in a matter, which they had formerly appointed their commissioners at Aberdeen to determine, and concerning which those commissioners had already pronounced their decree. They therefore still left the matter to the decision of the same judges, only appointing three others to join them; namely, "Sir Richard Maitland" of Pittrichie, Baird of Auchmedden, and Ogilvie of Aboyne.

The six commissioners accordingly sat at Aberdeen on the 28th of this month; and the prisoners being called in, the Earl of Errol, who was president, told them, that they had called them again, to know whether they were yet better advised, than when they were last before them? and whether they would give bond not to hold any more meetings? To which John Skene answered, that the last time they were before the king's council, he, being one of those accused for speaking in the meeting, desired the accusers might be asked, whether himself, or any other of them, had

ever been heard to speak any thing in the least tending to sedition, or to withdraw any of the king's subjects from their due obedience and subjection to his authority? To this the Earl replied, "It is enough: that matter was spoke to at our last sitting, and you were then found guilty." John Skene answered, that there had not been any seditious act proved against them, and that they had been kept prisoners about seven months, for no other cause than meeting in a peaceable manner to worship God "in spirit and in truth." But the Earl of Errol again interrupted him, saying, "It is enough:" then directing his speech to the other commissioners, "My Lords, I have delivered your minds, and therefore it is fit they should remove." Upon this, John Skene further added, "Though you now sit as our judges, yet I cannot forbear but put you in mind, from the zeal of the Lord, and from that respect I owe you as the king's counsellors, that the day is coming, when both you who are now sitting as our judges, and we who are judged, must stand before the judgment seat of the just Judge of heaven and earth:—and therefore I wish ye may so judge now, as that, in that day, ye may have peace." The Earl observed, "You are not to be our lawgiver;" to which John Skene replied, "No: I only in all humility lay these things before you."

The Earl then queried, Whether they were all of that mind? Alexander Skene answered, "I hope there are none of us here, that will be so unfaithful to our God, as to give any bond, whereby we should bind ourselves not to meet together and worship God;" and further submitted to their consideration the circumstance, that, so far as he knew, there were at that time none of their Friends suffering on this account in either of the three kingdoms. "The king," he continued, "hath referred us to his council, and the council hath referred us to you here, so that ye have all the power of the civil authority, to do with us as it shall seem right to you, from whom we may expect as

much moderation, as our Friends elsewhere have met with. But, if it shall please the Lord to permit you to be the instruments of our sufferings, I hope he will enable us to bear it with that patience and submission which becometh Christians."

The Earl of Errol then addressed himself to the other commissioners, "My Lords, if ye have any more to say than I have said, ye may speak it." Upon this, the Earl Marischall remarked, "They plead themselves not guilty of seditious conventicles, as would seem by what that young man spoke, whereas the law concludes their very meetings seditious." Alexander Skene replied, that they could not help all the constructions of that kind, for it had been the lot of God's people in all ages to have misrepresentations cast upon them; "but we hope," said he, "we shall behave ourselves so peaceably and dutifully, that where for conscience-sake we cannot give active, we shall give passive obedience." Then said the Earl of Errol, "Qualified loyalty smells of disloyalty: it seems, then, you will not give bond." To which John Skene answered, "Let never that day dawn, in which we shall be so unfaithful to the Lord! but if any should prove so, let neither the king nor his council trust that man; for he that is not faithful to the Lord, will never be faithful to his king and country."

The prisoners being ordered to remove, as they were withdrawing, the Earl of Errol said again to Alexander Gellie, that the Quakers' loyalty was a qualified loyalty. Alexander replied, that he did not understand that to be loyalty, which was not qualified with the fear of God, and by obedience to him rather than man.

After some hours, the prisoners were called into court to hear the decree of the commissioners to this purport: that they should pay their respective fines to one Captain George Melvill, and that upon payment, they should be set at liberty; that, in default of payment within a limited time, Melvill was empower-

ed to distrain them for the same, and that when the fines should be levied, the prisoners were to be released.

The Earl of Errol departing out of town the next morning, the remaining commissioners were unwilling to have further trouble, by issuing afresh a particular process against those who had been committed to prison since the rest were fined; and therefore added a clause to their former decree, by virtue of which, John Forbes of Aquorthies, Robert Gerard, and six others were liberated. Among these, was John Thomson, an aged and poor man. He had been a soldier in the king's service at the battle of Worcester, was taken prisoner, and sent as a slave to Barbadoes, where he remained five years. There was something in this case peculiarly calling for the indulgent interference of the higher authorities, when inferior servants of the crown could thus overlook the character, services, and bitter sufferings of a man, who had hazarded his life for his king and country, and was now made willing to lose his all, rather than relinquish the free exercise of his conscience towards the King of kings. He appears to have had his goods distrained and disposed of, and to have lain in prison, at one time, for about eight or nine months together, without being either called for, found guilty, or heard in his own defence.

CHAPTER VIII.

1676: Fines levied by Melvill—John Skene and Robert Burnett address the provost of Aberdeen—his severity; and Melvill's conduct—Patrick Livingston and James Halliday's preaching—further distraints and fresh imprisonments—David Barclay's liberation—letter of Princess Elizabeth to Robert Barclay—his imprisonment on his return home—letter of the Princess to Prince Rupert on behalf of Friends—Melvill executes his warrant of distraint at Ury.

Soon after the court of commissioners had come to

this decision, Melvill set himself to work to put in execution the authority given him, by levying the fines. He began with Thomas Milne, a shoemaker; from whom, for his fine of £30, he took goods of three times that value; and thereupon, this poor man was released from his imprisonment. He, being discharged, was present when his goods were conveyed to the market-cross to be appraised; and finding that they were doing him much wrong by underrating them, testified against their injustice; and, withal, kneeling down, he prayed God to forgive them. This act, however truly savouring of a meek and Christian spirit, was by the provost, George Skene, resented as a high affront to him and his office; he therefore again committed Thomas Milne to prison, where he was detained four days. Many of the sober and moderate inhabitants of the place justly esteemed this as a great severity; and two of the prisoners found themselves concerned each of them to plead with him, in the following remarkable letters of expostulation.

JOHN SKENE TO THE PROVOST OF ABERDEEN.

"Aberdeen Prison,
"25th of 8th month, 1676.

"PROVOST!

"Read and consider seriously without passion or prejudice.—Is there no God in heaven? Is there no judgment day? Must man only die as the beast, and make no account how he hath improved his time in this world, or how he hath answered the end of his creation? If so, then I should think it no strange thing to see thee so devoted to please the spirit of this world, this persecuting spirit, both in thyself and others. But if otherwise,—as I desire to hope thou dost believe,—[then] is there a just and righteous God, who seeth the actions of mankind, and hath a book of remembrance,—[then] the day cometh, wherein that which hath been done in secret, shall be proclaimed as on the house-tops,—[then] there is an after-reckon-

ing, and man must receive his reward conformable to the deeds done in the body,—and [then] man hath something in him not common with the beasts, even an immortal soul; for the salvation of which, he ought to be more concerned to please God than any man, whose breath is in his nostrils, who, as the flower of the field, is here to-day, and to-morrow is cut down! I say, it cannot but seem strange to me, and to all God's people, that one who believes these things however great in the outward his power be, dare venture on such actions as thou hast this day done, to cause or suffer a man to be imprisoned for no other reason than obeying Christ's command, as it is recorded in Matthew, v. 44, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.'

"Now, I warn thee, that thou seek not to cover this, and such rigorous practices, lest thou add to thine iniquity; for no excuse will stand thee in stead in the day of the Lord; and their power and influence, by which thou proceedest as thou dost, shall not cover thee from the hand of that God, who hath said concerning his people, 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye.' Wherefore let not the self-seeking clergy, nor their emissaries, sow pillows under thy arm-holes, as the false prophets did of old to those in authority, by telling thee, that we are not the people of God. For, know assuredly, the word of the Lord hath been to me, with others of my brethren, since we came in here, that as there is no variableness nor shadow of changing in Him, so shall He be the same to us, as He hath been to our brethren and sisters in England, Ireland, and New England too, where some suffered martyrdom for His name's sake. And as we continue faithful in owning him before men, so he shall own us, not only before our very persecutors, but also in the great and terrible day of the Lord, before his Father and his angels. And we shall be as the palm-tree, [the emblem of constancy, fruitfulness, pa-

tience, and victory,]—the more devils and men endeavour to oppress us in our public testimonies for His inward appearance,—we shall rise the higher.

"Wherefore, I beseech thee, in God's holy fear, take heed to thy proceedings against an innocent people; and let not the enemy within, nor his instruments without, drive thee further on in this path, wherein thou art walking, lest thou be found fighting against God—then will God fight against thee, and thou shalt not be honourable: for God hath said in the Scriptures, He will honour them that honour him, and on the contrary, They shall be lightly esteemed that dishonour him. So, repent; and be warned from the Lord!—despise it not, though it come through a weak instrument; for if thou do not mind it, all thy endeavours in this persecuting way, shall but tend to the filling up of the cup of thy secret and public sins,—and thou shalt wish thou hadst died beyond seas, and never seen thy native country.

"Receive this as thou pleasest:—this I can say, I have written it in true love and respect, both to thy soul and body, as likewise in obedience to the Lord. And what I have written shall stand as a witness against thee in the day of account, and I shall be clear of thy blood:—but, it is the earnest prayer of my soul to the God of power, that he may so second it, as that it may produce fruits most acceptable to God, and refreshing to his people.

"I rest, as formerly, however esteemed by thee, thy true and faithful friend,

"JOHN SKENE."

ROBERT BURNETT TO THE PROVOST OF ABERDEEN.

"Aberdeen Tolbooth,
"28th of 8th month, 1676.

"In the zeal of the Lord God, and in love to thy soul, do I write to thee, being moved thereunto by his Spirit, which hath arisen in my heart, with a mighty indignation and wrath against that in thee, which doth

oppress his innocent seed in thine own heart, and hath taken much rule in thy whole man. This doth evidently appear, by what thou hast done, in the entry of thy rule in this place, against God and his people, whom he hath called out in this place to bear a testimony to his everlasting Truth. They are made to suffer, for the exercise of their conscience towards God, by an unrighteous generation, who can lay no other deed to their charge but innocency and uprightness: for this we rejoice, in the midst of our sufferings, and shall more rejoice, through the strength of our God, who rules heaven and earth,—that all shall turn to his glory and the good of them that fear him. For, whoever may combine against him and his anointed, they shall not prosper; their designs shall be turned backward, and their contrivances come to nought; and our God shall arise, and be avenged on his enemies, who would not that he should reign over them.

"Friend, I am exceeding sorry for thee, that thou, of whom other things were expected, should have a hand appearing against God,—yea, and his witness in thine own heart, which, if thou mindest seriously, will show thee the injustice and unrighteousness of thy proceedings, contrary to what once were thine own principles. Oh! shall the honour of this world, or any enjoyment of it, which passeth away with the using, draw thee, or so prevail, as to make thee provoke the glorious King of righteousness to shut thee up in everlasting darkness and death, and to lose the crown immortal, and the heavenly mansion that endures for ever! Oh! let nothing arise in thee, to deceive thee of thy birthright, or to cause thee to think thou so standest that thou canst not fall. A fall is abiding all those, that lift up their heel against the Almighty: for, 'Who ever hardened himself against him, and prospered?'

"Let this be a warning to thee from thy true friend,

"Robert Burnett."

"Postscript. Let none deceive themselves with that colour or pretence, that they are commanded to do what they do by the higher powers, and so think to be justified. If so, then Pilate may plead the same: yea, and more, who publicly declared his unwillingness to pass sentence against Christ, who esteemed him a good and just man, and washed his hands, as innocent of his blood; and yet, if he was not free of the murder of our blessed Lord,—no more shall any of the present rulers, who have an hand in the present persecution."

The last letter, being delivered into the provost's own hand by Margaret Cassie, was, with the other, received by the party addressed in a very different spirit from that which actuated the authors of them; the provost threatening to complain against them to the council, and have them punished.

But the magistrates of Aberdeen seem now for some time, to have been effectually brought over by the professed spiritual leaders of the people, to exert their power in oppressing and persecuting this religious society. George Skene, the provost during the present year, even exceeded his predecessors in executing his malice and cruelty upon them. Almost immediately upon his entering into office, he caused the prisoners to be more closely kept; debarring them the liberty of going into the lower council-house, a privilege, which they had before been permitted at times to enjoy; and threatened some of the officers with the loss of their places, for not acting up to the rigour of his orders. And now, observing, that these conscientious people were not to be deterred by the forfeiture of their property, from returning to their meetings, he not only continued to send them again to prison; but, in order to render their imprisonment as severe and incommodious as he well could, would frequently remove them from one room to another, merely to perplex them with the trouble of replacing their bedding and utensils.

This being in the winter season, and one of these rooms having no chimney or other convenience for firing, several of their relations solicited for their removal into another place; this proposal some of the more moderate magistrates approved, as only reasonable. But the provost would by no means give his consent, and even prevented, so far as he could, any application to that effect being made to the commissioners. On the contrary, his evil disposition prompting him to be still more vexatious to them, he proposed petitioning the commissioners to give orders for the close shutting up of all the prisoners in the higher part of the gaol, which was a very disgusting place; but in such a piece of downright cruelty, he could not obtain the concurrence of the other magistrates.

With regard to Melvill, the person to whom the fines were made payable, he went forward in his work of making havock among the little church, as to their outward substance. In order, however, to leave him inexcusable, as far as in them lay, some of the prisoners found themselves under the necessity to address him: this they did; setting before him, how unchristian an office he had undertaken, and in much love cautioning him to beware how he proceeded further in his course. See *Appendix*, V. But he, likewise, turned a deaf ear to all their searching and persuasive exhortation, and determined to proceed. Fearing he had exceeded the bounds of his authority, he applied to the council's commissioners, sitting at Turriff, for a fresh decree; and this he procured from them. Thinking himself now completely authorized, on the 30th of the month called October, he took measures effectually to accomplish his purpose. Twelve soldiers of the militia, with two messengers, came to John Skene's shop; and, pretending his goods were not sufficient to cover the fine, although those in sight were three times the value, proceeded to his dwelling-house, where entrance was denied them. On this, they applied to the provost for a warrant to break

open his doors; but before they could obtain it, night came on. Next day, they came with smiths and hammers, to break open the gate and doors of his house; but James Skene went to the magistrates, then assembled, and made a legal protest, importing that there were goods enough in the shop to answer their claim, and if they should break open the house, the magistrates must expect to be accountable for the damage incurred. They advised Melvill to seize on the shop goods, which he did, to the amount of £130, by their own valuation, carrying away the whole to the captain's house, besides two other seizures made on Friends the same day.

His career was at length stopped for a season; for, being obliged to secrete himself from a messenger and serjeants, who were in quest of him for debt, he durst not appear, till that demand was compromised. But no sooner had he got this effected, than he returned to the prosecution of his commission, and in the like unreasonable manner. Coming again to the same individual's shop, on pretence of the former seizure being defective, he took away more goods, making in the whole £230 for a fine of £100. This plunder was not, however, altogether gain clear of vexation and disappointment; for it appears, that when John Skene's property was brought to the cross on a market-day to be appraised, Patrick Livingston and James Halliday, (of whom further mention is about to be made,) so spoke to the people out of their prison-windows, that no man could be found, who would be concerned in the matter of appraisement.

These Friends, who both resided in England, in the course of a religious visit to their brethren in this nation, had come to Aberdeen, and being apprehended, were put into the upper prison. Here they had frequent opportunities, especially on market-days, to preach to the people the doctrine of Truth out of their prison windows; having more hearers there, than probably they would have had in their own meeting-

house in more peaceable times. Thus, even their confinement tended to promote the testimony they had to bear. At this, the provost and others of their adversaries were greatly exasperated, and held several consultations upon the means to prevent it; but were at a loss to devise any plausible expedient, fearing to give umbrage to the people, who were eagerly attentive to hear them, should they proceed in any unusual method of severity against them.

In the meanwhile, further distraints and fresh imprisonments were going forward. From Andrew Jaffray, Melvill and his followers took five or six oxen; and from Alexander Skene cattle to the value of two hundred merks, being nearly twice the amount of his fine. In the latter instance, not finding purchasers to his mind for the cattle at the cross, Melvill had them killed, and their flesh exposed to sale in the public shambles. But the people generally refused to buy; so that, in the end, he found these cattle, living or dead, were brought to a bad market.

David Barclay, it would seem, had by this time obtained his liberty. No express record is made of the occasion of such partiality being shown him by his oppressors, so different from the treatment they meted out to his fellows. Yet is there ample ground to impute this to the exertion used by his son, when in London; which, though made on behalf of the sufferers generally, and not at all pointedly on behalf of David Barclay, (as is indeed evident in the foregoing address to the King,) took effect, it would seem, with regard to him, while it failed, at least for the present, to obtain for the rest of the prisoners the reasonable indulgence sued for. These exertions of Robert Barclay, were not confined to a direct application to royalty. He wrote to the Princess Elizabeth; and by her reply, which he received while he was still in London, it is clear, she had already endeavored to interest her brother, the Prince Rupert, to use his influence for the liberation of the whole number, but espe-

cially marking out David Barclay to notice, his wife standing in the relation of third cousin to the Princess. Her letter, which opens a correspondence that subsisted between these eminent characters till death, and is remarkable for its Christian simplicity, is here given. See *Appendix*, W.

ELIZABETH, PRINCESS PALATINE OF THE RHINE, TO ROBERT BARCLAY.

"July 21st—31st, 1676.

"My dear Friend in our Saviour Jesus Christ! I have received your letter, dated the 24th of June, this day; and since I am pressed to take this opportunity to make a certain address unto your brother Benjamin Furly, I must give you this abrupt answer.

"Your memory is dear to me,—so are your lines and exhortations very necessary. I confess myself still spiritually very poor and naked:—all my happiness is,—I do know I am so; and whatever I have studied or learned heretofore, is but dirt, in comparison to the true knowledge of Christ. I confess also my infidelity to this Light heretofore, by suffering myself to be conducted by false, politic lights. Now that I have sometimes a small glimpse of the true Light, I do not attend it, as I should; being drawn away by the works of my calling, which must be done:—and, as your swift English hounds, I often overrun my scent, being called back when it is too late.

"Let not this make you less earnest in your prayers for me,—you see I need them. Your letters will always be welcome to me, so will your friends, if any please to visit me.

"I should admire God's providence, if my brother could be a means of releasing your father and forty more in Scotland; having promised to do his best, I know he will perform it,—he has ever been true to his word:—And you shall find me, with the grace of our Lord, "A true Friend,

ELIZABETH."

"P. S. The Princess of Hornes sends you her most hearty commendations."

Robert Barclay had not long returned to his native country, and the bosom of his family, when he was himself apprehended by order of the provost, together with Thomas Moor, Thomas Milne, and John Forbes, while they were attending their meeting for worship at Aberdeen. The three latter were conveyed to the higher gaol; and because the keeper did not confine him in the same place with them, the provost was highly offended. His commitment was on the 7th of the 9th month; and by the next month, the news of his confinement reached his friend, the Princess Palatine, probably with some circumstances of exaggeration, as appears from the following letter to her brother, the Prince Rupert.

"Herford, December 19th, 1676.

"Dear Brother,

"I have written to you some months ago by Robert Barclay, who passed this way, and hearing I was your sister, desired to speak with me. I knew him to be a Quaker by his hat, and took occasion to inform myself of all their opinions: and finding they were so *submiss* to the magistrates in real, omitting the ceremonial, I wished in my heart, the King might have many such subjects. And since, I have heard, that notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious letter on his behalf to the Council of Scotland, he has been clapped up in prison with the rest of his friends; and they threaten to hang them, at least those they call preachers among them, unless they subscribe their own banishment; and this, upon a law made against other sects, that appeared armed for the maintenance of their heresy;—which goes directly against the principles of those, who are ready to suffer all that can be inflicted, and still love and pray for their enemies.

"Therefore, dear Brother, if you can do any thing to prevent their destruction, I doubt not but you

would do an action acceptable to God Almighty, and conducive to the service of your royal master: for the Presbyterians are their main enemies, to whom they are an eye-sore, as bearing witness against all their violent ways.

"I care not, though his Majesty see my letter; it is written no less out of an humble affection for him, than in a sensible compassion of the innocent sufferers. You will act herein according to your own discretion; and, I beseech you, still consider me as

"Yours,

"ELIZABETH."

One brief comment on the foregoing letter, merely by way of information, may perhaps be due to some of the younger classes of readers, who profess with the Society of Friends, as well as to others who do not.—The Princess knew Barclay to be a Quaker by his hat, and thereupon took occasion to inform herself of all their opinionss. Neither the Princess, nor Barclay, nor the Friends of Barclay in that day, placed any undue value upon singularity of external appearance, merely as such. The costume of the Friends had, before this date, become peculiar, and conspicuous for its simplicity, in consequence of the extravagance and preposterous fashions generally prevalent. They kept, with but very slight variation, to the mode of dress in use among sober-minded people at the time they had their rise in these kingdoms; and considered it one mark of a little and degraded mind, to be frequently, or without some sufficient occasion, adopting "changeable suits of apparel." Isai. iii. 22. It was this view of the subject, which made them nonconformists to the fashion of a passing world, as well as to the manners of those that love it; their close scrutiny into the motives for all their conduct, induced a caution, a jealousy, a precision in these respects, which while wholesome and beneficial, appeared to be consistent with the apostolic injunction, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation." 1 Peter, i. 15.

While Robert Barclay lay in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, Melvill, who had been one of his father's troopers, came to Ury with his party, bent on executing against David Barclay, the warrant he had from the Commissioners to distrain for the fine. The iron gate being shut, and the family at dinner, the man had to wait awhile for admission, which might have somewhat irritated him. For when his former master and colonel, on examining the warrant, told him, that could give him no authority within his estate, which lay in the shire of Mearns, whilst the decree of the Commissioners, under whom he acted, extended only to the shires of Aberdeen and Banff; he would by no means desist from his purpose, but, adding one illegal act to another, proceeded to take away ten labouring oxen, in the ploughing season, (which was by act of Parliament prohibited, even in case of a just debt,) also two cows, a bull, and a quantity of corn. These cattle proved a troublesome acquisition, for he could find no man that would buy them, and the expense of keeping them was a continual burden to him; so that he seems to have been well tired of them, before he could at any rate get them disposed of. At last, this remarkable opportunity offered.

The Friends engaged in the dispute with the students of Aberdeen, thought themselves unhandsomely treated on that occasion, and also by the reports of it. They accordingly published a particular account of the whole circumstance, to which the students drew up a reply; but no printer being willing to undertake their proposed publication at his own risk, they with some difficulty raised the money, hoping to be reimbursed by the sale of their book. But to their mortification almost the whole impression remained on their hands unsold: this induced them to represent their loss by petition to the Commissioners, and to request some relief out of the exchequer. By the Archbishop's influence in their favour, these students obtained from the Commissioners an order upon Captain

Melvill, to pay them a part of the "Quakers'" fines in his hand; upon which he gave them David Barclay's oxen, and with this they raised the money they wanted.

CHAPTER IX.

1676: Further seizures and imprisonments—letter of Gavine Laurie to Friends—George Gray and Alexander Seaton's treatment at old Meldrum—case of Alexander Chalmers and wife—1677: Alexander Burnett, bailie, endeavours to incense the Commissioners against Friends—to prevent the prisoners from preaching, their prison-windows are closed up—some of them are removed to a place called the Chapel, others from the lower to the higher prison—their situation and hard usage—a friend of the prisoners addresses the provost.

But Melvill had not yet finished his work in making seizures; some further instances of which may be mentioned, as tending, in connexion with what has gone before, to set forth the persecuting spirit of that day, when our predecessors had, at a rate thus dear, to pay for even attempting to worship their God in the way of his leading.—From George Grey, a poor weaver, for a fine of twenty merks, were taken cattle and goods worth £28, besides linen, which the soldiers privately stole and carried off. From William Wishart, John Glenny, Alexander Gellie, and William Spark of Stonehaven, the several amounts of £40, £40, £140, and £50. The last-named individual had obtained his liberty to go home from Aberdeen, where he was prisoner, that he might look to his own affairs; but as soon as the under-sheriff of Stonehaven knew of this, and that he was returned, he caused him to be put into prison at the latter place, till, the above distraint taking place, he was obliged to discharge him. The same under-sheriff had several times before, during David Barclay's imprisonment, committed those who met

there for the purpose of divine worship, and detained them several days, until he was ordered to release them, they being mostly the servants of David Barclay.

On the 6th of the 12th month, 1676, the last mentioned Friend, together with George Gray, John Forbes, and Robert Milne, were taken at a Monthly Meeting, and recommitted; three of these being put into the upper prison, but David Barclay, by the express interference of one of the magistrates, into the lower gaol. About a month after this, Andrew Jaffray was again taken into custody: for the constancy of these sufferers was such, that when, upon the levying of their fines, they were liberated, forthwith they frequented their religious assemblies, where they were consequently soon retaken, and consigned to their previous allotment.

While thus situated, the prisoners were saluted with the succeeding effusion of gospel love from a brother at a distance.

"To George Keith, Robert Barclay, and the rest of Friends.

"11th of 12th Month, 1676.

"Dear Friends,

"Your letter some time since I saw, which was read at London in the meeting, and copies sent as you did desire.

"O dear hearts! my soul melted at the reading thereof, for joy and gladness, that the Lord hath raised up living witnesses for his name, and that he hath appeared in his mighty power in my native country, to raise him up a people there, to bear witness to his blessed Truth, and to be valiant sufferers for the same, —to count nothing too dear unto them, being willing to give all up for the blessed testimony of his Truth, forsaking what is near and dear unto them, that they may follow his leadings. Oh! blessed day for ever, that we should come to be witnesses of it.

"And now, you valiant lambs, whom the Lord hath honoured to stand under the banner that he hath lifted up in that corner of the nation,—the Lord hath blessed you, and will bless and prosper you; as you abide faithful, you shall overcome; the cedars shall fall before you, and the mountains be trodden down. Your strength is in the Lord, who will go through the briars and thorns, which are set in battle array against you. You are the seed of the Blessed and the offspring of the Lord, whom he hath made, and will yet make as threshing instruments in his hands, to be a dread and a terror to the enemies of his Truth. O dear lambs! keep your habitation, in subjection to the weighty Life, which keeps all low, meek, and humble, feeling all to be from Him, your strength and courage. My soul is united with you in the one bundle of life, and in this I feel your strength; here I can lie down and even rejoice with you in your bonds! Many a blessed night and day have I felt, when the body hath been in bonds; and I know the same Life is with you. That fountain is but one, and your refreshings are from it. This gives patience to wait, until he say to the winds and storms, and foaming boisterous sea, 'Be still:'—for he will not let his people be overwhelmed.

"And it is in my heart, that the Lord hath a day of breaking through, yet more and more, in that nation. There hath been a darkness over the land as yet, only some seed sown here and there; and by suffering, will the Lord raise it yet more plentifully. And the cry is in my heart, and many a day hath been for the land of my nativity, that the veil might be rent, that the power of death might be broken, that the captives might come forth: and a faith is with me, that the Lord will visit, and the blessed day will yet break forth more and more there. You have been made to sound the alarm;—glory to our God for it for ever! Rejoice and be glad, that you are some of 'the first fruits' there unto God. And the breathing of my soul to the Lord is, that you may be preserved and kept, over all temp-

tations and snares, suffering patiently, waiting the Lord's way and time for your bonds to be taken off. Our God is a God of love, pity, and compassion; he hath been with us in trials, hath visited us in bonds; yea, our strength hath been renewed, and in the patience have we overcome. Dear hearts! it is a part of your way. The time is not long—we are near our homes, where the devil and his instruments shall not reach us. We are now travelling in our journey; and they seek to hinder us, and now and then buffet us; this is all they can do. The body is often in their power, for the trial of our faith; but, glory to our God! our anchor is sure; they cannot break our hold: but, as gold, shall all the faithful sufferers come forth, to the eternal praise of our God.

"O how have I been filled with joy, when I have heard, how God's power hath broke forth amongst you in prison, and how the glory of the Lord hath filled your vessels!—no news was so welcome to me;—yea, I have tasted of that joy with you.

"Dear Friends, I could write much; but I know God's presence is your all, and is beyond all words:—only, that you may feel my joy in the Lord for you, and may feel my love to you all, who are the faithful sufferers for his Truth. Yea, dear Friends, I could lie down with you in your bonds, if it were the will of my Father; and I wait till it may be his will that I see you.

"Friends were refreshed in reading your letter,—yea, it was gladness to them. We are well here, God's Truth prospers, and that is the joy of our hearts, when we see the gathering to the Lord's standard, and when many are inquiring the way to Zion with their faces thitherward.

"So, the Lord God of my life preserve you all in faithfulness to him for ever, who am your brother in the same Truth,

"Gavine Lawrie."

This individual, whose name is also sometimes written, Gawen Laurie, was a merchant of London, possibly residing in Hertfordshire, where, it appears by Besse's "Sufferings of Friends," he underwent distraint on his property; but some years after the date of this letter, Robert Barclay, when chosen governor of East Jersey, North America, appointed him deputy-governor of the province, to which was annexed a salary of four hundred pounds. This circumstance and a similar one, that of his being a joint trustee with William Penn and Nicholas Lucas in the assignment of West Jersey for the benefit of the creditors of Bylinge the proprietor, are mentioned, in default of other information, as evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his friends.

It was scarcely to be expected, but that Christians thus oppressed in so tender a point, as that of their unalienable right to worship God according to their conscience, should feel themselves bound in duty to warn their fellow-professors of the name of Christ, to depart from this gross iniquity; it was not to be wondered at, that, in love and pity to immortal souls, and not merely with a view to their own relief, they should boldly declare against such proceedings. Nay, their earnestness of concern would probably increase in some proportion to the pressure of their trials, urging them to proclaim the right way of the Lord,—the more excellent way,—to set forth the blessed, and opposite, and peaceable fruits that spring from the root of Life, the tree of righteousness, "the incorruptible Seed," "the true Vine."

Thus, we find one of the sufferers, George Gray, in the short interval that elapsed between his discharge and fresh commitment, had it heavily on his mind, to testify the gospel of the grace of God among his neighbours of the town of Old Meldrum on their market-day. No sooner had he finished what he deemed to be his duty in this line of communication, followed through the street by a concourse of people, than he found his

friend, Alexander Seaton, entering the place at the opposite extremity, with the like intention of religious usefulness. It was seldom, perhaps, that such opportunities passed off, without some palpable evidence appearing on the part of those addressed, that they needed being exhorted to repentance and amendment of life. On this occasion, John Urchart, the bailie of the town, sadly abused these inoffensive individuals, violently beating them, particularly George Gray, in the very time when he was labouring for their best welfare. Immediately after, as the account states, this furious opponent was seized with very sore pains in his bones and throughout his body, which continued upon him for the greater part of a year. His conscience was at the same time so awakened by this circumstance, that he often confessed his wickedness, in thus ill-treating those who sought his good, promising never to do the like again.

The case of George Chalmers, living at Kinmuck, was somewhat similar to the foregoing. Coming into the Friends' meeting there, with great cruelty he dragged out his wife by the hair, and sorely beat her; shortly after which, he was strangely smitten, so that he could not speak, and remained as it were in a senseless state for the space of three or four days. On his recovery, the first words he made use of, were, a confession of his guilt in his grievous conduct towards his wife, and towards Friends.

Alexander Burnett, one of the bailies of Aberdeen, and of a like persecuting disposition with the provost, being deputed to attend a meeting of the Commissioners, strove to his utmost to incense them against the "Quakers," strenuously urging, that they might be prevented preaching to the people out of their prison-windows. The Commissioners, willing to put a stop to such supposed danger, gave him an order to remove Patrick Livingston, George Keith, Robert Barclay, John Skene, and Andrew Jaffray to a place out of the town, called the Chapel, where the commissary

courts used to sit, and where *they* thought the prisoners might have better accommodation. With this order the provost and bailie were by no means well pleased; and, their aim being rather to incommode than to alleviate, they were not very forward to execute it. But a few days after, observing some of the prisoners in the high prison preaching to the people, great numbers of whom stood in the streets listening with much attention, they were exceedingly angry; and the more so, when they perceived, that after those in the higher prison had done speaking, Andrew Jaffray began to address the multitude out of the lower prison. On this, they immediately employed workmen to nail up the windows of the upper prison, and to stop the very chinks which let in light upon the stairs; and were even for contriving, how they might place iron bars so far within the windows, as that the prisoners might not come near enough to be heard in the streets. The provost, with Burnett and others, then went into the lower council-house, (a place divided from that in which the prisoners were, only by a boarded partition,) where they swore and raved awfully. At length they concluded to execute the last order of their superiors; only, that, instead of Patrick Livingston, they determined to substitute David Barclay; at the same time, they had John Lesk, Andrew Galloway, Robert Gordon, Ochiltrie Ferindaile, Alexander Seaton, Andrew Fisher, and John Cowie removed from the lower to the higher prison. This was done on the 17th of the 1st month, 1677.

Those, however, who were sent to the Chapel, instead of having better accommodation, were put into a small, cold, narrow place, at the end of it, which had a great door opening to the eastern ocean, without any fence. Here, there was very little room more than to contain their beds, and only one window, so small, that the inmates could not see, even to eat their food, unless by candle-light, or whilst the door was set open by the keeper, at the times when he came to let in their pro-

visions. On these occasions, it was usual for a servant to come and sweep out the place; and when, to make room for him to do this, some of the prisoners would step a few paces on the outside of the door, the provost sharply reproved the keeper, for letting them have that liberty for a few minutes' breathing. The little room they were confined in, had a chimney, but very subject to smoke. They would occasionally have a fire; but being obliged to send each time into the town for fuel, it was proposed to allow them the use of a small place under their chamber, to lay some peat in. This the gaoler dare not do without the consent of the provost, who, when applied to, roughly chid the man that kept the key for offering to mention it. Another window might have been readily opened, to give them a little more light; but this suggestion, when made, was rejected with indignation. Thus hardly were the prisoners in the Chapel dealt with;—and, to adopt the words of the biographer of Robert Barclay, "Such was then the treatment of a man, who had lately been well received at courts; who had then published a work which will long render his name eminent in the religious world; and, it may not be uninstructive to add, many of whose numerous descendants are now surrounded with most of the accommodations which opulence can bestow, and with much more than the simplicity of the Christian life requires." R. Barclay's Life, p. 36.

But the case of those confined in the higher prison at the Tolbooth was yet more grievous. They were so straitened for room, that they could not lay their beds, but were obliged to place them one above another on boards, that so they might have some little space to move upon in the day-time; and sometimes the rain, beating in upon them, by wetting the floor, still more narrowed up their standing ground. Add to all this, the unwholsome closeness of the prison, together with its darkness, the windows being blocked up with boards, and the reader may form some idea,

how deplorable must have been the condition of men thus confined, and for so long a period. Every night were they locked up in two rooms for the space of fifteen hours, nor had they for several days together such attention paid them as even decency requires. While they lay in this miserable state, eight others of their brethren, taken at their religious meetings, were added to their number, namely, Alexander Skene, (the same that had formerly been a magistrate,) Robert Burnett of Lethentie, Alexander Gellie, John Forbes of Aquorthies, John Robertson, Robert Sandilands, Robert Milne, and John Mercer; but some of these, for want of space, were obliged to lodge themselves among the debtors and other prisoners, who lay in the lower vaults much thronged.

The relations and acquaintance of these sufferers, with many sober inhabitants of the town, being sorely grieved at such inhuman usage, applied to the magistrates to prevent their death, of which the physicians actually declared them to be in danger. With this view, they sued for their removal into the great room of the Chapel; but the provost and bailie Burnett would not admit it, the latter saying, He would pack them like salmon in a barrel, and though they stood as close as the fingers on his hands, yet they should have no more room; and that if they had not room in the chambers, they might lie on the stairs:—the passage of which stairs was so narrow, that one person could hardly pass another.

At length, a friend of the prisoners, under a great concern, wrote the following letter to the provost, which is thought worthy to be here inserted, as showing that the prisoners or their friends were not wanting, in the Christian duty of warning and rebuking unjust and cruel rulers.

To the Provost of Aberdeen.

"Provost!

"The King of kings, who is Lord both over

thee and me, hath laid it upon me, so that I may not forbear, without incurring his displeasure, to write unto thee touching thy present office, and thy exercise thereof in this city. Wherefore, in his fear and dread consider it, and reject not, I beseech thee, what is thus offered, because coming from one whom thou despisest, but seek to hear the voice of the Lord, and to know his will thereby.

"Thou art appearing cruel against the servants of the living God, whom one day thou wilt see he owns, and to whom he will give a better kingdom than an earthly one. But because thou art not willing to see and acknowledge them such, what I am to lay before thee shall be, laying aside that part of the difference betwixt us, Whether they be, or be not, the people of the Lord: for it is beyond doubt to me, the Lord having made me to see they are his, and joined my heart unto them and their testimony; and thou, it seems, art not yet come to begin the question in good earnest, From whence are they come?

"Thy hard thoughts and hard speeches of them are beside the law, wherewith thou defendest some of thy actions, and their manner of imprisonment is thy own deed. Ah! remember, and still keep in thy mind, that for these and all other deeds done in the body thou must give an account,—and thou wilt find thy need of forgiveness; but how canst thou seek or expect it, if thou be void of mercy to any? Albeit there were of us that had wronged thee, what do we owe thee? But a few pence in comparison of what thou owest the Lord. And wilt thou fulfil our Lord's parable in plain deeds, to imprison cruelly, and beyond thy superior's orders, for thy own private offence? Verily, though before this time much had been forgiven thee, yet for that very act all thy iniquities may be laid to thy charge, as thou mayst read in Matthew, xviii. 32, 33, 34. Were we thy enemies, as it is likely thou judgest us to be, thou oughtst, as a Christian, to relieve our necessities; and in so doing

thou wouldst heap coals of fire on our heads, and mightst expect thy reward from the Lord. But how much contrary [to this] is it, to increase our necessities, and add to our burdens by closer imprisonment than the law requires, and where there is no necessity for it; there being other convenient houses and places for imprisonment, where there is room enough. Reflect seriously on the measures which thou art giving to others; and be not ashamed to stop, when and where thou seest thou hast done amiss. If thou think, thereby thou art executing justice, and actest righteously, because they walk contrary to thy will, mind what the wise man said, 'Be not righteous overmuch, nor make thyself over-wise: why shouldest thou destroy thyself?' Why should it offend thee, that they preach repentance and remission of sins by believing in Christ *near*, to a multitude of poor wicked people? Can you think worse of them than some formerly really were, who preached Christ out of envy, supposing to add affliction to the afflicted Apostle's bonds? and yet he was far from being cruel unto them, or bidding any so to be, although he was an eminent witness for Truth, against all deceit. And that they cry aloud from a prison-window, and lift up their voices like a trumpet, is it an injury to thee, or matter of offence justly given? Or canst thou allege, God or man will lay that practice of theirs to thy charge? So that, upon no account, needest thou to be afraid or offended, to suffer them, when they are willing for Christ's sake to run all hazards, and be lightly esteemed among men. It is far less for thee to bear it. Therefore leave them to their Master, to whom they must stand or fall, that so thou mayest give up thy charge and account with approbation of the Lord, whose favour will be of use, when that of all men will fail."

CHAPTER X.

1677: Lilias Skene's warning to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of Aberdeen—consolatory letters to the prisoners from William Penn, Richard Rae, and Hector Allane.

About this time, Lilias Skene, whose husband Alexander Skene with others had been then recently incarcerated, as we have seen, among all sorts of prisoners, merely for the act of public worship, was constrained, in true honesty and earnestness of desire for the welfare of her neighbours, to lay before them the hazardous consequences of such conduct. In her exhortation may be discovered that Christian love which flows towards enemies, and which enables to pray for those who despitefully use and persecute. Her language is enlivened and confirmed by many apt passages from the Sacred Volume; for, it appears, she was especially versed in these writings, and had much improved in her understanding and application of them, by obeying the dictates of the Spirit of Christ.

"A warning to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of Aberdeen, written the 31st of the 1st month, 1677.

"At several times, and in divers manners, I have witnessed against the will-worship and blind obedience of the inhabitants of this city, since the Lord opened my eyes and drew me out of that fearful pit. So, at this season, I am moved in the same zeal for the Truth, and compassion towards your souls, Magistrates, Preachers, and People, to bear an open testimony against the spirit of persecution, whereunto ye are now arrived in such a measure, as doth exceed the bounds of humanity and the severity of your predecessors.

"Wherefore, in the fear of the Lord, and in tender love towards you, I warn you to consider what you are doing; that you draw not upon yourselves and

this city innocent blood; for assuredly, the Lord will not hold you guiltless. Every one of you will find it so, according to the measure of your accessions, when the Lord deals with you:—truly, you will have enough to account for, though you keep your hands free from the blood of the innocent people, who suffer for conscience-sake.

"O consider! If the righteous scarcely be saved, where will the ungodly and unmerciful sinner appear? What favour of mercy you have shown to particular persons, has not been done unto them as friends of God, but that ye might appear to be men not wholly void of gratitude or natural affection, they being near unto you and in friendship with you: therefore will ye lose your reward. How will ye answer the Lord one day, for thus using his friends and followers? When he shall say unto you, 'I was sick, and ye visited me not; hungry, naked, and in prison, and ye were so far from extending pity or help, that ye made me (in my members) prisoner, naked, hungry, thirsty.' In place of supplying their necessities, ye were instrumental in occasioning them to be greater; for, like Egypt's task-masters, ye have increased the tale of bricks, and instead of setting them at liberty, have added to their bonds.

"And if the magistrates, ministers, and people of this place should say, 'When saw we thee so and so?' Hereby is it manifest to all who will open their eyes, that Christ may sometimes suffer in his members, when people believe it not, nor are concerned about it. This ought to make all, who have but the letter of the Scripture, tender and cautious; for one answer shall be given unto all, both to those who have not showed mercy, who did not all the good they had power to do, and to those who have done evil, and are willing to do more;—'inasmuch as ye did so and so to one of the least of these little ones, ye did it unto me.' It will be no cover for you, that the magistrates are under the authority of others above them: nay, ex-

amine your own hearts, and you will find, ye have 'willingly walked after the commandment,' as it is written in Hosea, v. 11, 12. Assuredly, the Lord is observing who are doing thus, and who is not. Neither will it excuse you, that your ministers informed you, such men were seducers of the people, and therefore enemies, not friends to God; and that your ministers strengthened your hands, by accounting it nobility in magistrates to curb error. These hills and mountains will not cover you:—they will need coverings for themselves, if they obtain not mercy to repent and reform.

"But not all that ye say, or that ye act against the Lord's work and witnesses, will discourage a remnant from desiring to be faithful even unto death. For my part, your severities and cruelties are a confirmation unto me, that Truth is not on your side who are persecutors: for, in all ages, he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit. We feel the old hatred; we see the envy of the people; we hear the cry of Edom, crying, 'Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation:' Esau's rough voice has been often heard from your pulpits these thirteen years past, and has caused us to feel rough hands from civil authority, especially during these last thirteen months. But, glory be unto God for ever! the faithful and obedient are enabled to put their seal to Christ's faithful word, 'In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye have peace.' I have seen in the light of the Lord, this day of trial is come for the fall and for the rise of many in this place, and our testimony for the Truth is as a sign spoken against; yea, the sharpest sufferings the seed hath met with, or shall meet with, are permitted, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed, both among you and among us.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, love your own souls; harden not your hearts from God's fear; neither despise this warning,—the Lord having sent one, as

from the dead, to warn you; though you have the testimony of Moses and the prophets among you, which whosoever will not hear, there is little ground of hope, such will hear other testimonies, how true soever. If ye had hearkened to that word to which Moses directed, near in the mouth and in the heart, and to which the Lord Christ pointed, teaching every man to do to others as he would be done by, there would be little need of other testimonies. Neither would ye unnecessarily throng in honest men in prison, who have families, wives and children, deeply suffering with them,—and in these cold, nasty, stinking holes, where ye have shut them up,—who have been as neatly handled and tenderly educated as any among you, and as useful in their generation.

"I desire you to acquaint yourselves better with the histories of the church in former ages; and with the remarkable judgments that have befallen persecutors in Old and in New England. And search the Scriptures of truth: where now are all the persecutors of the people of God in former ages? and, ere long, where will those be that tread in their steps? Where is he that hardened his heart, and refused to let Israel go to serve the Lord? Where is he now, who resolved, that his little finger should be heavier than his predecessor's loins? And where is he, of whom it was said, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that went before him? Doth not the Lord observe those that are at ease in Zion, and forget the afflictions of Joseph, who live gorgeously, and fare delicately every day, and despise the poor?—who put the evil day far away, and cause the seat of violence to come near, that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chiefest ointments,—but are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph?

"O consider these few instances, with many more such! and say not in your hearts, as those atheists

recorded in Scripture, 'All things continue as they were at the beginning,' and 'Where is the promise of his coming?' Death and judgment *will* come, and it may be ere long; but though it should not hastily, yet remember, in the Lord's account, a thousand years are but as one day. Moreover, there is another Scripture, which hath weightily arisen in my heart, as applicable to Aberdeen, Jer. li. 1. 'Thus saith the Lord; Behold, I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind,' &c. My desire is, ye may not be behind, with that generation whom John the Baptist addressed, who were forewarned to flee from the wrath to come.

"And now having exonerated my conscience towards you, by obedience towards God, and love towards the inhabitants of Aberdeen, I hope the Lord shall enable me to bear what he may permit you to do towards me or mine, even with that patience which becomes a disciple of the crucified Jesus, and, nevertheless, to remain your soul's well-wisher,

"Lilias Skene."

While some of this faithful band thus pleaded with the oppressors, others of their number, at a distance from the spot, were brought near in spirit to the oppressed; and deeply sympathizing, endeavoured to animate and console them, their language in effect reviving, as well as sealing the assurance of an apostle formerly, "But and if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you." One or more effusion bearing this character has been produced in the course of the preceding pages; and it may be satisfactory to such as entertain a value for the remains of William Penn, to have the opportunity of perusing an unpublished letter of this description from his hand. It does not bear a date; but the circumstances indicate with sufficient precision where it should obtain a place in this simple chronicle.

"To the Brethren imprisoned at Aberdeen for the testimony of Jesus.

"Dear Brethren!

"Salvation and peace by Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, our eternal, glorious Day, be multiplied among you,—who is the Rock of safety, and Fountain of everlasting consolations, from whose pure life descend sweet refreshment into the souls of all that love Him in truth and sincerity.

"And I doubt not, my brethren, but you are witnesses of the same; as a letter from our dear brother, George Keith, giveth me with others hereaway to understand. Which being read among us, broke our hearts and deeply affected our souls, to behold with you the goodness of the Lord unto you in your tribulations. These 'wars and rumours of wars' are certain forerunners of the redemption of your country; and great will their reward be from the Lord, that fly not in this winter time, nor on this sabbath day.

"I feel an immortal spring of pure life rising among you; and can say, I am with you in spirit, and behold the aurora of the day of the Lord over Scotland. My brethren, all, be scattered unto and settled in your own, and wait for the feeling of the power of the Lord, that subjects all to him; then wait for the signification of that power; let none quench the Spirit, nor miss the Spirit's mind; that you may now grow spiritual soldiers, expert, and fitted by these exercises for such spiritual conflicts, as the Lord hath for you to go through, in the Lamb's war. O! these trials are blessed mortifyings to the sensual and worldly man, and for the awakening of the soul to the things that are beyond time and mortality.

"O! you little leaven, and salt of that country, love the pure power, the true and certain power, and grow in it, as trees in winter, downwards, that your root may spread; so shall you stand in all storms and tempests. And, O! blessed are they that firmly believe, patiently and contentedly wait for God's salva-

tion to be completed; God will 'stay' such with his everlasting arm, with 'flagons' of love, and in that pure peace which persecutors neither know nor can take away. My dear brethren, this suffering is not strange, neither is it for nought. All wait to see the end of the Lord therein, and all bow thereto, and none resist the Lord's purpose; for this is, to bring up the seed and power into dominion, to make his righteousness and truth known to the world, and his love and his faithfulness unto you, and to keep that down, which for want of exercise might overgrow the Truth in the particular. Much I see of the Lord's wisdom, mercy, and goodness in this thing, and it will end for his glory, I am persuaded; wherefore I can say, be of good cheer, for everlasting strength is with you and in you.

"The affairs of Truth hereaway are very well. The Lord's power reigns over public and private oppositions. Our meetings are very large and quiet, and Friends generally well: yet great sufferings upon the 1st, 23rd, 29th, 35th of Elizabeth, and the 2nd and 3rd of James; and I see not but sufferings hasten upon us more and more. You are in our remembrance to be mentioned with others to the king and council. And so, [we must] leave our cause with the Lord, who will arise in his due time for his poor seed's sake; and blessed are they that are not offended in him, nor his dealings, dispensations, or tribulations. Many are the troubles of the righteous, but out of them all shall they be delivered in time,—that is, not ours but the Father's time, whose will must be done in earth as it is in heaven.

"This, with my endeared salutation to you all, my heavenly kindred, and fellow-travellers in the narrow way that leads to the eternal rest, concludes this epistle, from your faithful, sympathizing Friend and Brother in the tribulation and patience of the kingdom of Jesus,

"WILLIAM PENN."

Two other epistolary communications are also recorded, as being about this time welcomed by those, who had learned in the school of Christ Jesus to love one another, and that "with a pure heart fervently," —being engaged in good measure to purify their "souls in obeying the Truth, through the Spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren." 1 Peter, i. 22. The first of them is as follows.

"Edinburgh, 16th of 11th month, 1676.

"Dearly beloved Friends in and about Aberdeen, and especially you that are in bonds, who suffer for the testimony of a good conscience! As you keep innocent and blameless before God, and labour continually so to do, and look back and read in your hearts the ground and cause for which you suffer, it will minister joy and soul-satisfaction unto you. For it ever did so to me: I bless my God, outward imprisonment was never a prison to me; though I suffered near two years together in Edinburgh, and was never a quarter of an hour all that time from under their fingers; being deprived of the enjoyment of all good Friends, and was cast among thieves, and robbers, and murderers,—such unclean spirits, as I never yet did see worse upon the earth. And, as I remember, for the space of two months and upwards, I could not say there was one quiet hour either by night or day;—and this fell to my lot even in the time of my weakness. Then, the consideration what I suffered for, did still minister satisfaction unto me; for I could take the Lord to record, that I suffered for the testimony of a good conscience; the remembrance of which caused my inward man exceedingly to rejoice. And so, blessed for ever be the God of my salvation, that caused me, in his love which 'is stronger than death,' to rejoice over all my sufferings! Thus, in this love of God, I reigned over all my enemies; and though in prison, yet was I a freeman, for 'where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' And my sufferings were

even joyous unto me, but never grievous; for the Lord revealed it unto me, that it was a more honourable crown than all the crowns of the whole creation, to be a sufferer for the Truth of God! And this he made clear to me, at a time when I was near to sink; then he raised me up above all, and gave me strength to press forward towards the mark for the prize of our high calling.

"And now, my dear Friends, be faithful, noble, and valiant for the Truth upon the earth! for you may bless the day, that ever you were born, who are called unto such a blessed calling, as to suffer for the testimony of a good conscience. So, my dear Friends, keep your testimony, for it is your life.

"And now, my dear Friends, I beseech you, keep in innocency, and commit your cause unto the just God, for he will certainly plead the cause of the innocent: this I do infallibly know. Therefore, my dear Friends, love your enemies, and pray for them, and entreat the Lord, that he may open their eyes, if it be his blessed will, and convince them of the evil of their doings.

"Richard Rae."

It will be readily perceived, that the foregoing production came from the pen of one, very differently qualified, in respect both to education and natural endowment, from the writer of the epistle that precedes it. In fact, Richard Rae was by trade a shoemaker; and it may be remembered, he has been already noticed in preceding pages of this volume, as one of the first in Scotland that became a "Quaker-preacher;" being also the individual who, earlier than any other of that people, tasted imprisonment at Aberdeen, whither he had come in the love of the gospel to visit his brethren. It is not by any means improbable, that the following circumstance, named by Robert Barclay in his "Apology," may have allusion to this Friend: namely, That he knew a poor shoemaker, not able to

read a word, who was taken before a magistrate of a city, for preaching to some few that came to hear him; when, being assaulted with a false citation of Scripture from a learned professor of divinity, who constantly asserted his saying to be a Scripture sentence, the poor man still maintained, that the Spirit of God never said such a thing as the other affirmed: a Bible was brought, and it was found to be as the illiterate shoemaker had said. Should the reader be of the number of those, who can believe with William Penn himself, that from among the shoemakers, mechanics, and husbandmen may be, and once were called forth, "our best preachers;" and with Robert Barclay, that "the Spirit and grace of God can make up the want of literature in the most rustic and ignorant;" he will be likely no less to appreciate the "savour of Life" and simplicity of the Truth, conveyed through homely language, than through a more refined medium. See "Select Anecdotes" relating to the Society of Friends, by the Author of this volume, p. 10; also R. Barclay's Works 1692, fol. p. 423.—Indeed, to the quickened mind, that has the spiritual "senses" "by reason of use" "exercised to discern both good and evil," it is beautiful to observe, what a harmonizing tendency there is, in all the various administrations of Divine virtue to the different members of the one body; each part that is "fitly compacted together," being rendered subservient to the well-being of the whole—"to the edifying of the body in love." The little "household of faith" at Aberdeen, no doubt had their occasion, to feel the worth and import of what the Apostle Paul declared to the Corinthians: "The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee." For "those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary," and such also as "we think to be less honourable;" seeing "God hath set the members, every one of them, in the body as it hath pleased him," "that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another."

1 Cor. 12. This subject is beautifully touched upon in the next letter, addressed to the same party; and which afresh discovers, how this people watched over each other for good, and by love served one another.

"Leith, 3rd of 11th month, 1676.

"Dear Friends,

"In the sense of that Life, which visited me in the beginning, am I drawn forth to write unto you, who are now stayed for the blessed testimony of our God. I know the Lord is with you, and his everlasting arm is near, and underneath to uphold you in this great trial, [even He] who hath not been wanting to prepare you for this honourable service. Dear Friends, I am one with you in your sufferings and in your joy; and I feel a travail for you in the general, that you may stand faithful witnesses for the Lord, as many faithful brethren have done before you, in this and former generations, who now reap the fruit of their labours, and their memory is blessed [even] to all eternity.

"Friends! feel the everlasting Life, and drink of the living springs that proceed therefrom, which God hath opened unto you: this is your reward at the hand of the Lord; let your minds be stayed in that, and you are over all that the devil and his instruments may do unto you. Look not out, neither be weary in well-doing, and your deliverance will come in the Lord's season. He that hath wrought your soul's deliverance, is not unmindful of you that are faithful unto him. But if any draw back, they will lose their reward, and the Lord will be provoked.

"So, dear Brethren, encourage one another in the Lord: and you that are strong, (whom the Lord hath made so,) help the weak, and bear with them, and travail one with and for another, in the spirit of love and meekness; and have a high esteem of, and respect unto, the weakest member for the Head's sake, Christ Jesus our Lord, who shed his blood for all, and is near unto you to behold your conversation inwardly and

outwardly. Grieve him not, nor oppress his seed in one another; so shall you be known to be the children of the heavenly and royal birth; and, in due time, when the Lord hath done his work in you and by you, he will bring you forth with a high hand in the sight of your enemies, and you shall shine with the beauty of the Lord, and the Lord will add unto you, and you will rejoice to behold the wisdom and power of God. And care not for your outward loss, which in the end will be great gain: they that have laid down their heads in our Father's bosom, repent not, that they have suffered these things for Christ's sake.

"So, in the love of our God, have I written these few things unto you, my dearly beloved Friends; in this let us dwell together, and we are sure our dwelling is in God, whatever the world may say. And to Him that is able to keep you, both in soul and body, both in your inward and outward afflictions and temptations, I leave you, who is God only wise and powerful, blessed for ever!

"From your Friend and Brother,

"HECTOR ALLANE."

CHAPTER XI.

1677: Pretence, that the "Quakers" were popishly affected—the King's Commissioners grant them present relief: some of the prisoners obtain their liberty, others are removed to Banff—previous to this, Friends address the Council, and Robert Barclay writes to Archbishop Sharpe—misunderstanding between the magistrates of Aberdeen and the under-sheriff—disgraceful affair among the instigators of persecution—John Forbes, deputy-sheriff, and the magistrates of Banff, treat the prisoners with great civility—Aberdeen prison for a short interval cleared of Friends.

ONE of the chief pretences, which the public preachers and magistrates made use of, to palliate their un-

justifiable treatment of the people called Quakers, was, that they were Popishly affected, and advancers of the interests of the Church of Rome:—a pretence altogether false and groundless. At the same time, they themselves were by no means clear of openly flattering and caressing the most eminent Papists in the land; as the following instance proves.

The Marquis of Huntly, as noted a Papist as any in Scotland, and one who greatly promoted that class, was bringing home his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, one of the foremost among the same persuasion in England, and she herself very zealous in the Roman Catholic religion. On their entrance into Aberdeen, the magistrates drew together a great number of the citizens, and with much parade went forth to meet them, expressing all the usual tokens of the utmost respect; so that on that occasion, "the whole town appeared in a manner taken up with the grandeur of the ceremony." This was not noticed by the Friends of that day, with a view of detracting from the station of the Marquis; but only to show the hypocrisy of those, who, while they themselves publicly flattered and paid great attentions to the chief Papists, could thus colour their cruel persecution of the poor "Quakers" with the pretence of their affinity to Popery.

In the second month, 1677, the Commissioners of the Council met again at Ellon, where Burnett the bailie was again deputed to attend them, and strenuously endeavoured to justify their proceedings against this people, under the idle pretext, that they had not room for their better accommodation. But, many persons appearing on behalf of the prisoners, and representing the cruelty of their confinement, the Commissioners resolved to afford them some present relief; and thereupon decreed, That, considering the extraordinary trouble sustained by the magistrates and burgh of Aberdeen, through the many Quaker conventicles held in the Tolbooth, and that others have been

urged to throw themselves into the snare of imprisonment, for the purpose of molestation,—the following persons be removed from thence to the Tolbooth of the burgh of Banff, till further orders; namely, Robert Barclay, George Keith, Patrick Livingston, John Skene, James Halliday, Thomas Mercer, John Lesk, John Cowie, and Thomas Milne. Likewise, that David Barclay, Alexander Skene, Robert Burnett, Alexander Gellie, and Andrew Jaffray, be removed from the prison of Aberdeen, and confine themselves to their country houses and parishes; at the same time, to be prohibited from permitting unlawful meetings in their houses, or frequenting them elsewhere.

In making this decree, there is reason to believe that the Commissioners were some way influenced by the King's recommendation to the Council at Edinburgh before recited. This recommendation, as we have seen, had been referred by the latter body, to certain Commissioners appointed for carrying into execution some acts of the Scottish Parliament, against what was termed "keeping conventicles, and withdrawing from divine worship." It was under these acts, that the Friends in the north of Scotland had been persecuted; and it was by some of these same Commissioners, that the above decree was made.

Pursuant to such decision, five of the prisoners were set at liberty; but, on being told the purport of the Council's order, as to their confinement within their respective parishes, and prohibition from attending meetings, they answered, That they accepted their liberty, but as to the restriction enjoined upon them, they must act as they should find it their duty. Those who were ordered to be removed to Banff, were delivered over to the sheriff, who gave them also their liberty, on condition of being forthcoming, when he should appoint a time to convey them thither.

Before this took place, however, the Friends had thought it right to represent their case in an address to the Council itself. And further, Robert Barclay,

being informed, that the Archbishop Sharpe, was a chief instigator of their sufferings, had expostulated with him in a very plain and forcible letter, full of "sound wisdom and discretion." The address and letter are as follow.

"*Unto the King's Council, the suffering People of God, called Quakers, in and about Aberdeen,* Showeth,

"That albeit the nature of our known principles, and our practice thereunto corresponding since we were a people in this nation, free us of all just ground of suspicion of being disturbers of the common peace, or prejudicial to the present government; and that the innocent and harmless exercise of our consciences in our peaceable and Christian assemblies, doth not, as we conceive, come under the genuine purpose of those laws made against the seditious conventicles. Yet, upon the Council's declaration emitted a year ago, upon the 12th of the month, called March, 1676, several of us were taken prisoners, and afterward at sundry times to the number of forty and upwards; against whom these acts being executed to the rigor, many of them have had their goods miserably spoiled, most to the double and some to the treble, of their fines uplifted, of which divers are again retaken, to the great prejudice and apparent ruin of several poor and desolate families, and the impairment of our health, having wanted the accommodation of fire this cold winter season. And now of late, to sum up all with an unparalleled piece of inhumanity, certain of the magistrates of this place, have by importunity obtained an order from some of the Council's Commissioners here, to dispose of us in some other place;—upon pretence that their court-house could not be spared longer for a prison for us, notwithstanding they have an empty place where they could, and others of them would have secured us:—yet, by a certain malicious barbarity, shameful to be named among Christians, they have thronged up fifteen of us in two narrow, stinking holes, where each of us have not so much room as could not

be denied us in the grave-yard, and so are forced to lie one above another with boxes, notwithstanding the vault below, and not water-tight; and others of us they have put in a cold, dark, narrow place within the town.

"May it therefore please the King's Council, seriously to weigh and consider our condition, who have been now above a year in prison, and order our releasement: leaving to the magistrates of this place, to inform the Council of what they have or can say against our peaceableness, to make use of the pretence of law to execute their private prejudices by continually imprisoning us. And we shall then be always most ready to present ourselves before the Council, upon the smallest intimation;—as at this time we are willing to do, in case the Council shall see meet, or think we have aggravated our sufferings;—not doubting, but upon a full and impartial hearing, it will appear we have been (all circumstances considered) very forbearing and modest in this address; and therefore shall expect, that the Council, according to the wisdom and justice becoming their station, will comply with this our most reasonable desire, as such who regard equity without respect of persons."

"To James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews (so called.)

"My being personally unknown to thee, hath hindered me to give way to that pressure of mind, whereby I have felt myself oftentimes moved to write to thee, because I was loath to trouble thee. But, since there is an address intended to be presented to the Council, at their first sitting, in behalf of me and my friends, I could no longer forbear upon this occasion, to signify unto thee what hath been upon my mind for some time towards thee. The address itself will inform thee, how we have been upwards of a year prisoners, and the goods of many poor people miserably spoiled; of which, thou art said to be the chief and

principal author; and that the attempting to persecute us, as well as the prosecution of it, doth proceed from thy influence, as being done either at thy express desire, or by some others, in hopes thereby to gratify thee.

"How far thou art truly guilty thereof, thine own conscience can best tell. But surely, such practices (if thou hast, either directly or indirectly, had a hand in them) will neither commend thee to God nor good men. I presume, thou lookest upon it as thy chiefest honour, to be reputed a Christian bishop, deriving thy authority from Christ and his apostles: but they never gave warrant for any such doing, being preachers and practisers of patience and suffering, but never of persecuting, or causing to rob any of their goods or liberties, for their conscience sake. And long after, even several centuries, the primitive bishops abhorred and detested such proceedings. Hence, the excellent and zealous Athanasius saith, That it is the devil's work, and not God's, to force men's consciences; affirming, That the blasphemous Arians (who were the first bearing the name of Christians that used this practice) have learned so to do, not of God, but of the devil and his wicked angels.

"Considerable are the testimonies of Tertullian, Hæsius, Hilarius, Jerom, and others, given to the same truth; so that Ambrose declares, That, going into France, he refused all communion with such bishops, that had any fellowship with those that sought to destroy even such as were departed from the faith. I confess, the bloody bishops of Rome gave large precedents of such actings; but, I suppose, thou art not ambitious to be ranked among them, or to be accounted an imitator of them in that respect.

"How far thou are justifiable in thy concurring with, or advising the persecution of the Presbyterian dissenters, is not my business to determine. But I am confident, thou art willing it should be judged, that thy so doing against them, is not merely for their con-

sciences; but because their principles do naturally, or necessarily, imply an innovation in the State, and thy personal ruin;—believing, not only military resistance just, to protect themselves against authority, but also an offensive endeavour to turn out their superiors, and establish themselves in their overthrow, both lawful and laudable,—as their practice hath sufficiently demonstrated.

"But should thou now be found a positive persecutor of such, against whom nothing of that kind, neither from principle nor practice, can be alleged, but only the simple exercise of their conscience; would not that give plentiful occasion, for such as desire to represent thy other actions with the worst aspect, to show, (whatever thou pretendest of the State's security,) yet thou art a persecutor of pure conscience, since thou showest thyself such towards those, against whom the former reason doth not hold?

"And surely, it would seem, that the more our peaceable principle takes place among other dissenters, thy interest will be the more secure;—which is a consideration not unworthy of thy notice, as deserving thy favourable aspect towards us. Perhaps the violence as well of the preachers, as of some magistrates here, from whom our sufferings originally do flow, may at first view seem acceptable to thee, as faithful friends as well of the public as of thy interest;—and, no doubt, they judge with themselves, that they ingratiate themselves with thee, in so doing;—yet, did thou know them as well as some of us do, thou mightst think it no great absurdity to conclude, as well from their practices as principles, that they would be no less ready to give thee this same treatment, had they but the like opportunity of doing it; and rejoice more in it, as a great service both to God and the 'Kirk of Scotland:' however, that now [being] out of their reach, they make what use of the law they can, both to execute their malice on us, and flatter thee, at this juncture. In short, we have more than reason to be-

lieve, that if thou oppose thyself to this our address, it will not be granted; and if thou show thyself moderate and flexible, it will not be denied,—as no mean persons have hinted to us. So, as the one will be an evidence of thy moderation, the other will be a testimony of thy inclination to persecute. I wish then, for thy sake as well as ours, that this occurrence may rather commend thee, than discommend thee.

"And thou mayst assure thyself, that the utmost rigour that can be used to us, shall never be able to make us doubt of, or make us depart from that living, precious Truth, that God in his mercy hath revealed to us, and by us is embraced:—nor yet fright us from the public profession of it;—yea, though we should be pursued to death itself, which, by the grace of God, we hope cheerfully to undergo for the same: and we doubt not, but God would out of our ashes raise witnesses, who should outlive all the violence and cruelty of man. And albeit thou should thyself be most inexorable and violent towards us, thou mightst assure thyself, not to receive any evil from us therefore; who, by the grace of God, have learned to suffer patiently, and with our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, to pray for and love our enemies. Yet, as thy so doing to an innocent and inoffensive people, would be an irreparable loss to thy reputation; so, the God of truth, whom we serve with our spirits in the gospel of his Son, and to whom vengeance belongs, (so we leave it,) would certainly, in his own time and way, avenge our quarrel; whose dreadful judgments should be more terrible unto thee, and much more justly to be feared, than the violent assaults or secret assassinations of thy other antagonists.

"That thou mayest prevent both the one and the other, by a Christian moderation, suitable to the office thou layest claim to, is the desire of thy soul's well-wisher,

"R. BARCLAY."

"From the Chapel Prison of Aberdeen,
the 26th of the 1st month, 1677."

It is more than probable, that both these documents had weight with that body, of which Sharpe was so prominent a member. For, thereupon, they issued an order to the Commissioners, appointing a day for receiving from them information as to the condition and circumstances of the prisoners; and directed, that, in the mean time, they should be provided with better accommodations. This order of Council caused much dispute between the magistrates of Aberdeen and the under-sheriff; the former insisting, that the sheriff should take to Banff such prisoners as had been ordered thither by the decree of the Commissioners; and the latter refusing to convey them, and pressing the magistrates to accommodate them better, in accordance with the Council's order, which bore a date subsequent to the Commissioners' decree. The contention grew violent, and each party entered formal protests at law against the neglect of the other. Under these circumstances, when neither of the contending parties would accept the disposal of the prisoners, Robert Barclay and five of his companions, went before a notary and protested, that they were freemen, and should pass away about their lawful occasions.

Most of those who by this means obtained their liberty, went away to Edinburgh, that they might do their utmost to procure the enlargement or relief of their brethren, still detained in bondage; whose condition was in no wise alleviated, notwithstanding the Council's injunction to that purport. But the magistrates were not satisfied with continuing thus unfeelingly and wantonly to oppress their prey; for, even on the very day of the liberation of these Friends above mentioned, they stirred up the Commissioners at Aberdeen, and jointly with them, wrote a virulent letter to the King's Council at Edinburgh against the "Quakers;" in order to hinder them from having access to be heard in their just complaints, which some of their number were at that time attempting to lay before the Council, and for whose sakes Robert Bar-

clay in particular was then strenuously soliciting at Edinburgh.

There happened also at this juncture an occurrence, in which the zeal of the Friends who were still prisoners at Aberdeen, having offended some of the public preachers, excited in like manner the Synod at that place, to join in misrepresenting them to the Council. The case was as follows.—A Synod of the diocese being convened at Aberdeen, several of these professed ministers, having drank too freely, were observed to be staggering in the streets, and actually incapable of walking without the assistance of others. Some of the Friends, taking notice of this fact from the window of their prison, were incited to warn the people against such conduct; showing, that while those called "Quakers" were imprisoned for meeting peaceably to worship the Almighty, these teachers, whose ministry they were persecuted for relinquishing, were permitted with impunity to stagger up and down the streets with drunkenness, at the very time they professed to be met for the government of the church.

This public rebuke was highly resented as a great indignity to those termed the clergy in general, several of whom wrote to the King's Council expressly about it, representing the Quakers in prison as so insolent and abusive, that a clergyman could not quietly pass the streets for them. The magistrates also wrote largely to the Archbishop, earnestly requesting his assistance "in suppressing the Quakers." Thus by a joint concurrence of the Commissioners, the magistrates of Aberdeen, the Synod of ministers, and the Archbishop, the cause of the innocent sufferers was obstructed; the labours of their brethren with the Council in a great measure frustrated; and the business concerning them again remitted to the Commissioners in the north.

These Commissioners, meeting at Aberdeen on the 16th of the 3rd month, passed a declaration, ratifying, as might be expected, their former sentence against

Friends; the execution of which had been hitherto impeded by the intervention of cross orders from the Council. Pursuant to such decision, John Forbes, the deputy-sheriff, had apprehended several of the Friends, in order to convey them to the Tolbooth of Banff. But this individual, being humane and utterly averse to persecution, treated them with great civility; ordering a guard to attend them thither, with directions to let them have all suitable accommodations on their way, and to take their own time; so that they were allowed the opportunity of visiting their friends, and holding several religious meetings as they passed along; in which they had such remarkable service, that some of their conductors were convinced, and effectually converted to the blessed, pure, gospel Truth promulgated by them. On their arrival, the prisoners met with a reception far different from that which they had had at Aberdeen; for the magistrates of Banff were courteous and even liberal, not only granting the most commodious arrangements of which the Tolbooth was capable, but permitting them to make use of an inn in the town at their pleasure, during their continuance in the place. In addition to this, these magistrates used their influence with the Commissioners and sheriff to procure the release of the prisoners; nor did they cease from their exertions, until they had obtained liberty for them to return to their several habitations.

But the civil authorities of Aberdeen, on the other hand, had suffered their spirits to be so far imbittered against this people, who had done them no wrong, that neither the example of others, the manifest dislike of the sober and moderate inhabitants, the disgrace they had incurred by their cruelty, nor a regard to justice and equity, had any power to move them to sentiments of humanity.

In one instance, indeed, the provost appears to have been induced, from motives of policy, to suspend the exercise of his malice towards Friends, and to act

with some semblance of lenity.—Many of the prisoners of Aberdeen being now at liberty, in consequence of the above-mentioned misunderstanding between the magistrates and sheriff, and others of them, who had lands, being also at large, although considered prisoners on their own estates; the provost had no longer in his custody those, against whom his prejudice and indignation chiefly burned; that he might, therefore, appear to have some generosity and feeling towards the poorer class, he came to the conclusion, that as the greater ones among the "Quakers" had all escaped, he would let go the smaller ones. They were nine in number: and among them, is the name of poor George Gray, the weaver, who has been before noticed as an example in patient suffering. Accordingly, on the 23rd of the 3rd month, 1677, these presumed offenders against the laws were dismissed from their confinement; but with the fixed intention, on the part of the provost, to recommit them, on the earliest occasion of their meeting together for their well-known conscientious purpose,—the worship of an Almighty Creator, the Father of mercies!

CHAPTER XII.

1677: Observations on the nature of the testimony committed to these witnesses of Christ—Andrew Jaffray's very unusual exercise—fresh imprisonments of Friends, on account of meetings for worship—case of Robert Gerard—the firmness and meekness of the sufferers—Letter of George Fox "to the suffering Friends in Scotland"—their situation at Montrose; they are debarred, in the winter season, from working for their families—Alexander Seaton confined among them—all passages for light or air closed, to hinder his preaching to the people—Andrew Jaffray boldly expostulates with the chief instigator of persecution at that place; and is thrust into a dungeon vault, and cruelly beaten—remarkable sense of retributive justice.

The present was the first time, since the commence-

ment of the persecution, that the prison of Aberdeen was altogether clear of these sufferers. But thus it did not long continue: for very shortly afterward, as might be anticipated, were they more closely imprisoned and more hardly used than ever; so as to leave little doubt on their minds, that the design with some of the persecuting parties, was nothing short of cutting off the very lives of such faithful and uncompromising witnesses of the Spirit of Christ Jesus. The plain and constant testimony of these, by conduct and conversation, by word and doctrine, by doing and by suffering, was no other than it still remains to be at the present day,—and will yet continue, so long as they are preserved a living remnant on the sure Foundation. They could not, when and as they felt Divine Love and Wisdom constraining, neither dare they, withhold the word of warning, where they believed it to be due, "to flee from the wrath to come;"—they could not spare sin, nor soothe people in sin, nor prophesy sin-pleasing deceits, neither could they approve of those who did so. It was this that rendered them, as it always must, an eyesore and an offence to evil doers, and to all who corrupt or pervert the doctrine of Christ, which is indeed "according to godliness;" it was this that occasioned them to be reputed, and actually called, "trouble," "a plague," "a contagion," of which it were well to cleanse the polluted district; and thus the language of an apocryphal writer of old, became well fitted to the mouths of these persecutors: "Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings.——He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits; he abstaineth from our ways as filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed.——Let us examine him with despiteful-

ness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience." Wisdom of Solomon, ii. 12, &c.

During such a state of things,—when evil was called good, and good evil, when darkness was put for light, and light for darkness, bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter;—when, independently of the gross and defective moral condition of the people generally, they that worked wickedness were set up, such leaders amongst them causing them to err, and keeping them from the light of righteousness, so that judgment was turned away backward, and justice stood afar off; (for truth might be said to have fallen in the street, and equity could not enter;)—yea, when truth as it were failed, and he that departed from evil made himself a prey,—a snare being laid for him that reproved sin in the gate;—was it to be marvelled at, was it to be stumbled at, that singular burdens, suited in some sort to unsound, unreasonable times,—burdens similar to those, that were laid upon servants of the Holy One in ancient days, should be also devolving upon such, as endeavoured to follow in their footsteps, upholding the same testimony, speaking the same language, standing upon the same ground of faith, upon the same Rock?

But, quitting the line of presumptive reasoning from analogy, as to what the supreme Orderer of human affairs and human conduct might see meet, on peculiar occasions, to require at the hands of any,—as, indeed, "he giveth not account of any of his matters," further than he may please;—and without venturing to denounce sentence on such cases;—the reader is now to be made acquainted with the very unusual impression of duty which befell the zealous son of our humble-minded Diarist.

Andrew Jaffray, of whose parentage, condition in life, education, and conversion to the faith and practice of this Society, some intimation has been already given, became deeply affected and laden in his mind, under an unusual sense of the corrupt and ungodly

condition of many of his fellow-citizens. Their practices, however highly esteemed or justified by men, he had reason to apprehend, were as an abomination in the sight of One, who seeth not as man seeth, and whose eyes are as a flame of fire. He believed they were covering themselves with a covering, but not of the Lord's Spirit, and that their case resembled that of the "whited sepulchres," which inwardly were full of all uncleanness. This religious exercise growing upon him, he wrote an address to his neighbours, urging upon them to turn to the Lord with a true heart, from whom they had deeply revolted, and with full purpose of soul to serve him. At length he was led to believe, that he could not divest himself of the burden that lay upon him, nor obtain relief to his tried spirit, so as to be "clear of the blood" of such, without himself becoming as a spectacle and a sign among the people, to rebuke and expose, in a prophetic manner in his own person, the offensiveness of sin. Accordingly, on the 1st of the 4th month, being the market-day, he gave up to the humiliating act, of passing through the streets of Aberdeen—(the scene where his honoured father had obtained the favour even of royalty)—the upper part of his body being naked, and having in his hand, that which might prove in the view of beholders, as fit an emblem as could be chosen, of the loathsomeness of all their performances and profession in religion, without washing their hearts from iniquity.

This very significant, though uncommon appearance of his, from which poor nature revolted, was accompanied by a zealous exhortation to timely repentance, and thorough amendment of life. His sincere and Christian earnestness for their reformation, harmless and also disinterested as at least it must have been, but prompted, he avers, by true love to their immortal souls, met with such reception from the magistrates, that he was violently dragged away to prison, and closely shut up as a most dangerous person. The

windows of the prison (where it appears there were others of the Friends by this time in durance) were thereupon ordered to be effectually blocked up; which, however, by no means precluded some powerful addresses from being sounded forth in the ears of the people, who collected in the streets below. It was observed, that the professed ministers of religion joined with the magistrates in this treatment of an innocent man for preaching repentance; when, on the same day, they suffered a great deal of vanity and abomination, yea, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit of God, to be acted and uttered on a public stage in the open market-place, without any the least restraint or rebuke either from magistrates or ministers; whose zeal, totally employed in persecuting the innocent, could pass by the most public inducements to vice and immorality, as things beneath their notice.

It is only due to this individual, whose name has been thus prominently put forth, in conjunction with so strange a procedure, to introduce in this place a passage from the testimony written concerning him, after his decease, by his friend Robert Barclay, junior, (as he has been called, being the son of the Apologist of the same name.) Should any thing be needed in the view of general readers, to substantiate the estimable character of Andrew Jaffray, both in a civil and religious point of view, such a passage is calculated to do so. And with regard to members of the same denomination in this day, it may serve as an encouraging confirmation to them, of the intrinsic value of endeavouring to maintain, through life, the straight-forward, even tenor of adherence to known duty. The latter class of readers will surely be prepared to anticipate and enlarge on reflections such as this,—that it is the truest, safest, happiest policy, "herein" to "exercise" ourselves, "to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and [so far as in us lies] toward man;" knowing beyond all doubt,

"it shall be well with them that fear before Him," and "them that honour him, he will honour."

Extract from R. B.'s Testimony respecting A. J.— "This was particularly observed concerning him,— that in the streets of the same city, where he had often been reproachfully pointed at, for the Truth's sake and his testimony to it, he, in his latter years, was wishfully looked upon, with affection and veneration, and blessed, as he passed along; of which I have often been both an eye and an ear witness."

Through the summer and autumn of this year, 1677, the Friends continued to be molested in their peaceable assemblies; and, upon their refusal to obey the command of those who required them to separate, were from time to time seized, and even with violence dragged away to prison. The list of names, of those committed from their Monthly Meeting on the 15th of the 4th month, stands as follows: David Barclay, Robert Burnett of Lethinty, Patrick Livingston, George Gray, John Glennie, Robert Gordon, James Birneise, George Melvill, Andrew Fisher, John Mercer, and Alexander Seaton: these were all "thronged up" into the usual place of confinement. On the 2nd of the 8th month, John Watson, an Englishman, and James Findlay, a Friend from the western part of the country, who had come to visit their Friends, received the like treatment, together with Alexander Skene and two others. Among such instances as these, Robert Gerard, having been absent from home, was intercepted on his return to Aberdeen, and led away to gaol;— and this appears to have been the occasion. A child of his, removed by death, had been interred during his absence, in the Friends' burial-ground; a fine was imposed upon him, for the alleged avoidance thereby of certain burial-fees usually demanded in such cases; his goods were seized to satisfy the fees, and he torn from his family and home under circumstances of-

affliction, which rendered his case a peculiarly aggravated one.

But, this people, fervently seeking of the Lord, in like manner as the Apostle for his fellow-believers, Col. i. 11, that they might be "strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness," were abundantly favoured with ability to sustain what was permitted to befall them at the hands of unreasonable men. It was by "looking unto Jesus," and considering "him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself," that they, through his grace, were kept from being weary and faint in their minds. Indeed, their very enemies were induced to marvel at their meekness and patience—so cheerfully did they take the spoiling of their goods; even "rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer" any kind of shame for His sake, who had taught and engaged them by his presence and goodness, not to forsake the assembling of themselves together. Yet, in order to take off from the weight and effect of such conduct, these opponents would tauntingly disparage their motives, by affirming, that the Quakers liked well to go to prison, they had such good fare there. In order to meet as well as to manifest such malicious aspersions, "the Lord stirred in them a resolution," (as the account states,) for the space of two or three months together, merely to give up their bodies passively to the operation of the law, or rather, of the wills of those who hated them; and by no means actively, in any wise, even to appear to procure or promote their own bondage. So long as this exercise continued with them, they were, in consequence, actually "hauled down as beasts for the slaughter," and "clasped together by the workmen" employed to carry them away.

It was during the continuance of this state of things, that the succeeding comfortable and enlivening lines from the hand of George Fox, reached the company at Aberdeen.

"For the suffering Friends in Scotland.

"4th of 5th month, 1677.

"My dear Friends,

"To whom is my love, in the everlasting Seed, that reigns over all, and 'will grind to powder' all your persecutors, and the devil that is the cause of them, who fighteth against the light, which is the life in Christ, as he did against Him in the flesh, above sixteen hundred years ago.

"And now, my Friends, suffer as lambs in the time of your sufferings: let all your wills be subjected with patience, which hath the victory, and runneth the race, and obtaineth the crown of life, and be as willing to go to suffer for Christ's sake,—as the Apostle said: and it is not only given you to believe, but to suffer for His name's sake, in whom you have salvation; for they that suffer for righteousness' sake are blessed, and theirs is the kingdom of God. And, by faith the holy men of God had the victory, as you may see at large in Hebrews 11th ch. So, nothing is overcome by any man's will, but by faith that giveth access to God, in which they please God. And [thus] I do believe, that all your sufferings will be for good; both to the stablishing yourselves upon the Holy Rock of life, (who was the foundation of the sufferers, the prophets, and the apostles, who is the Anointed and the Saviour,) and to the answering that of God in all people —for the Lord hath a great work and seed in that nation.

"So, live in the Spirit, that mortifieth all, and circumciseth all, and baptizeth all, that, in the Spirit, you may sow to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reap life eternal. For there are seedsmen enough in your nation, and makers of seedsmen in the form and the letter, which soweth to the flesh, and in their field they may reap abundance of corruption.

"So, my desires are, that you may be all alive to God, and live in the living unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly peace, which passeth the

knowledge of the world; so that the eternal joys may transcend all your sufferings, and carry you above them; and thus, in love to God and in love to your persecutors, you can pray for them, in that you suffer for their good. And this suffering is above all the sufferings in the world without love and charity, which maketh one another to suffer for getting the upper hand. But such are not the sufferers of the true Lord Jesus, who suffered, though he was a-top of all, yet he made none to suffer; and when he was reviled, he reviled not again, but said, 'Father, forgive them,' and committed himself to him that judgeth righteously. So, let the same mind be in you, as was in Christ Jesus; for the apostle said, that they had the mind of Christ; and He, the Lamb, overcame, and the Lamb hath the victory, and his sanctified ones follow him: glory to his name for ever, amen! Holy! worthy of praises!

"So, remember me to all Friends in Scotland, both north, and west, and south; and let them have copies of this.

"GEORGE FOX."

Some few further statements, in addition to those given heretofore, are now to be laid before the reader, relating to the situation of the Friends at Montrose, who, it will be recollected, were but few in number.—The true worship of the Almighty, which is "in spirit," whether divested of or clothed in words, continued to be so great an occasion of offence, and so repugnant to the persecutors, that they went on in increasing malice and fury, shamefully to entreat these "poor innocents," as if they even thirsted for their blood. No sooner did any meet together to perform this reasonable service, than they were cast into prison; and at length, from one of them, James Nuccoll, a tailor by trade, they took away his work, alleging, he was not a freeman of the town; whereas, he had long before obtained from them a promise of his freedom, and had

sought, but in vain, to pay for and enter it. In this course, they were mightily incited by the same David Lyall, their stated preacher, who had been so active in the like wicked work at Aberdeen. The magistrates, having sent to prison several of these individuals in the midst of the winter of 1677, were so cruel, as to deprive those of work, who could labour at their outward callings for a livelihood, at the same time threatening all those who should in any wise pity or relieve them. And when Alexander Seaton, a Friend among the prisoners at Aberdeen, had got liberty to visit his imprisoned friends at Montrose, he was himself detained with them. On one occasion, because he exhorted the people that passed by the window in the street, to fear the Lord, and mind his light and Spirit in themselves that strove with them, these oppressors were much incensed, and had all the windows and passages for light or air, wholly closed up for several days.

About this time also, Andrew Jaffray, having set out on some occasion from the prison in Aberdeen, felt an impression of duty to go to Montrose, and to bear a testimony to the Truth of Christ in the public place of worship there. It seems, David Lyall had been grievously railing from his pulpit against the Friends, endeavouring to render them odious in the eyes of the people, both as to their doctrine and practice. On hearing this, the mind of Andrew Jaffray became confirmed, and settled in the intention, of publicly expostulating with this person, before his own people on the very next day, being the 29th of the 11th month. Accordingly, he waited in the grave-yard, till the congregation were beginning to withdraw; then went in, and addressed him in bold and plain terms on his unjust allegations, made, as they were, against Friends, at a time when there was no one who could or dared reply to him; desiring him then to make good his charges, and that he was ready to reply to them. But, as soon as words to this effect could be pronounced, at

the instigation of David Lyall, Andrew Jaffray was hurried away with great violence into a dungeon vault, under one of the aisles of the building, and there confined within two doors, quite out of the reach of any one's hearing, and among the graves of the dead. But mark the language in which this narrative proceeds. "Yet was this place made very comfortable through the sweet presence of the Lord with him" during his abode there, from the said 3rd day of the week to the 6th, when, in the night season, they released him from his state of jeopardy; some of those who had sorely beaten him being much ashamed at this their inhuman conduct. It was remarkable, that one of the persons who had thus ill-used this Friend, going to sea shortly after, the vessel was encountered by a Turkish pirate, when, being seized, he was beaten most sadly, beyond all the others. And at that very time, as he afterward feelingly confessed to a Friend, his conscience so smote him for his cruelty to Andrew Jaffray, that he could not but accept it as a righteous and heavy judgment upon him from God. Thus, the language of Scripture respecting a persecutor appears to have been literally fulfilled, "His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate." Psal. vii. 16.

CHAPTER XIII.

Lilias Skene's expostulatory letter to Robert Macquare—1677: Robert Barclay's second journey to Holland and Germany: his letter to the Princess Elizabeth—continuance of persecution during the space of two years and a half—reflections—constancy of Patrick Livingston—1678: He, with George Gray, and Andrew Jaffray are thrust up into the Iron-house—the favour and providence of God towards the sufferers—Archbishop Sharpe's end, with the removal by death or otherwise of the most active persecutors.

An early portion of these Memoirs has been appro-

priated to an Exhortation from the pen of Alexander Jaffray; and it was designed that, in the present chapter, should be revived a piece of similar description, but by another hand, and of no ordinary character. It was however found needful, in the arrangements for the volume, that the piece now alluded to should be consigned to the Notes. This measure was adopted with some reluctance; and therefore the reader is particularly invited to a perusal of the document, before he proceeds further. See *Appendix*, X.

The Friends at Aberdeen were last noticed, as being, through the summer and autumn of 1677, continually harassed with a prison allotment. Before reverting, however, to their condition, and carrying onward the narrative of their trials to its full extent of severity, and to its termination; it will be needful, in the order of events, to turn for a short interval to some engagements of one of their little band, whose temporary separation from his companions and from this scene, placed him in a condition for renewed exertions on their behalf,—and in a way, which, it is believed, materially operated towards their recovery of those civil and religious privileges, from which they had been so long debarred.

Robert Barclay's acquaintance with the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, and the intimation she gave of her purpose to intercede, so far as lay in her power, for the liberation of the Friends in Scotland, will doubtless be fresh in the recollection of the reader. Very shortly after his release from prison, in the 2nd month, 1677, Robert Barclay travelled into the south, was at London in the following month, and early in the 6th month paid a visit to his friend, the Princess, at Herwerden in Germany. The objects which he had before him by this journey into England, and a tarriance there for the space of two months, may have been various; but on these points there are no documents that supply scarce any information. It is clear, however, with regard to his travels on the Continent,

that he had expressly in view, to pay a visit in the character of a minister among those churches, that were then gathered to the same religious acknowledgment with Friends, as well as among others whom he might find seriously disposed to seek the way of salvation. His companions were George Fox, William Penn, George Keith, and Benjamin Furly, with two or three more. At Amsterdam, it appears, they proposed to the General Meeting of Friends then convened there, a method of regularly transacting church discipline, adapted to the state and exigency of that body.

But it does not altogether come within the scope of these Memoirs, to go into Robert Barclay's services in particular, while on this gospel errand, much less those of his fellow-helpers; nor even to give an account of their visit to the Princess Elizabeth; William Penn, in the Journal of his travels, having drawn a very lively and touching description of their interviews, the reader is referred to his account. The object of this digression from the transactions of Friends in the north of Scotland, has rather been, to explain the absence of Robert Barclay from that scene of action; and to show, by the statement of collateral circumstances,—but especially by the succeeding letter, which he wrote to the Princess soon after his return to England,—that the painful subject of the persecution of his fellow-countrymen, did not cease to lie very near his own heart, and that of his valuable correspondent.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

"Theobald's near London,
12th of the 7th Month, 1677.

"Dear Friend,

"By thy letter of the last of the month past, I understood that the Friends were with thee, and was refreshed by the account they gave me of thy kind and Christian entertainment of them,—they having over-

taken me in Holland. God will not be wanting to reward thy love, as well as to increase the same.

"Finding no ready passage for Scotland, I came over here; and albeit I had no great expectation of success, I resolved once more to try thy cousin, the Duke of York, [afterward James the 2nd.] So I told him, that I understood from Scotland, notwithstanding Lauderdale was there, and had promised, ere he went, to do something, yet our Friends' bonds were rather increased; and that there was now only one thing to be done, which I desired of him,—and that was,—To write effectually to the Duke of Lauderdale, in that style wherein Lauderdale might understand, that he was serious in the business, and did really intend the thing he did write concerning, should take effect;—which I knew he might do, and I supposed the other might answer;—which, if he would do, I must acknowledge as a great kindness. But if he did write, and not in that manner, so that the other might not suppose him to be serious, I would rather he would excuse himself the trouble; desiring withal, to excuse my plain manner of dealing, as being different from the court way of soliciting: all which he seemed to take in good part, and said, he would so write as I desired, for my father and me, but not for the [persecuted Friends of Aberdeen in] general. So, he hath given me a letter: whether it will prove effectual or not, I cannot determine; but of this thou mayst hear hereafter.

"I am now entered into my journey, and intend to pass by the way of Ragley.

"What thou writest of the counsellor of the Elector, and the other preachers, is very acceptable to me to hear; whose joy it is, to understand that the eyes of any are opened to see the Truth, as it is in this day revealed;—as it should be much more, to hear that any came into that universal obedience, which the life and power thereof lead to: which life and power, as they are felt in the inward part, are more than all the

words that can be spoken;—of which, I know, thou hast at some times not been insensible. And therefore my soul's desire for thee is, that thou mayst more and more come out of all that which cumbers, to feel this virtue of Truth to operate in, and redeem thy soul from all the difficulties that do or may attend thee. This, in the nature of it, it is powerful to do, albeit thy temptations were greater and more numerous than they are; if received by thee in the love of it, and with a heart fully resigned to obey it in all its requirings; without consulting with flesh and blood, or turning by the plain and simple leadings thereof by wise and fleshly reasonings, which will never admit of the government and rule of the cross of Christ:—as thou well knowest and wilt not refuse to acknowledge, and therefore art the more concerned to watch against it in thy own particular, as I hope in measure thou dost, and my heart's desire is.

"Thou mayst make mention of my dear and tender love to Anna, whose servant, as also the French woman, I forget not. To Anna I thought to have written apart; but must now leave it until another opportunity. If thou seest meet to salute that counsellor of the Elector in my name, thou mayst do it.

"I shall add no more at present, but that I am thy real and unfeigned friend,

"Robert Barclay."

One or two circumstances occurring in the above letter, are briefly adverted to in the Notes, to which the reader is referred. See *Appendix*, Y. It is pleasing to derive fresh evidence from its contents, that the influence that Robert Barclay, as well as his father, possessed with some who at that time moved in the highest circles, was by no means turned to the gratification of pride, avarice, or ambition; but rather applied for the purpose of advancing the interests of sober piety, and that, with a sincere regard for the real welfare of all with whom he had to do.

We are not informed, what effect was produced by the letter obtained from the Duke of York in favour of the Barclays, to which allusion is made in the foregoing. There is, however, no reason to doubt, it was delivered to the Duke of Lauderdale, on Robert Barclay's arrival in Scotland. The Memoirs of the family, indeed, state in general terms, that the release of both the father and son took place "by an order from court, with a reprimand for meddling with either of them;" and that the "son afterward procured the liberation of his other friends who were detained after them." It is presumed, this must be understood of the above-mentioned imprisonment of David Barclay and others in the course of this year: but it does not expressly appear, how soon Robert's lot was cast among the prisoners, after his return home, nor when his release, with that of his father, was effected.

It may here be briefly named, that about two years subsequently, he journeyed a third time on the Continent. His engagements in this instance are but little known, beyond the circumstance of his having proceeded by way of London to Holland, "upon account of visiting and acting for his friends;" also that at Rotterdam, he again addressed the Princess by letter, "excusing himself for not seeing her at that time;" "a copy of which," continues his grandson in the Memoirs, "I have."

In the ancient record which has furnished a chief groundwork for the present historical account of this persecution of a Christian people, there occurs, about this period, a considerable chasm; so that the touching circumstances of their afflictive allotment, can no longer be pourtrayed, as hitherto, in detail. This deficiency in the narrative, it is of course in vain to expect, at this distance of time, should be in any wise supplied from other sources. We are only informed, in general terms, of the continuance of the scene, which has been largely opened before us in former pages; the like treatment being dealt out to the sufferers, and

were they from season to season raised up, and carried aloft in the spirit of their minds, above "the things which are seen" and "perish with the using!" how were they made to "sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," and enabled to return unto the Lord all the thanks and all the glory, for the exceeding riches of his grace,—the aboundings of his loving-kindness! Nor are we short of being amply borne out in such conclusions; as will appear by reference to a small portion of the rough outline traced by themselves, where, in a summary and general way, they wind up the ancient memoir of their troubles to its close.

Extract.—"And it is never to be forgotten, but worthy everlastingly to be recorded, how wonderfully and gloriously 'the Lord from heaven' countenanced and owned our sufferings, by the signal pouring forth of his Holy Spirit and power among us, beyond whatever we had formerly known, for our encouragement in our trials, within a month or thereby after our imprisonment; that, not only was our prison turned to a house of prayer and praises, but so mightily did the Lord's power break in upon and amongst us, and the glorious, heavenly sound thereof go forth, that it amazed our very enemies."

Among the foremost champions in this prolonged contest for the excellent, pure liberty of the gospel of truth and righteousness, was Patrick Livingston. He was born near Montrose, as has been before stated; but marrying in England, about two months after, he came into his native country to visit his friends; where, as we have seen, he soon partook of their ordinary portion—that of incarceration. To the great disadvantage of his temperal concerns, and grievous trial of the faith of his partner in life, the term of his detention in prison, from first to last, proved to be three years; during all which time, he was never called to appear before any judge or court, that he might have his crime laid to his charge or proved against

him; although, at the desire of some who commiserated his hard condition, he was several times allowed his freedom, for very short intervals of a day or two only, speedily becoming entrapped again in the same snare. For, being of an upright and noble spirit, and having come into that country with an innocent, nay, most commendable intention, he could not see it right for him, when dismissed from prison, to withdraw himself from the scene of action, as one who had been guilty of evil;—and moreover, he felt bound by the ties of brotherly sympathy and Christian love, to stand by his companions in their afflictions. No sooner, therefore, was he at any time set at liberty, than he returned to his post, as a good soldier of the Prince of peace, not daring to turn his back, or shrink from exposing himself in the line of that most essential duty, of publicly drawing near "in spirit and in truth" to Him "who is a spirit."

In this way, by example as well as exhortation, did Patrick Livingston, whether in bonds or out of bonds, greatly uphold and strengthen the hands of the little flock, towards some of whom in an especial manner, he stood in the relation of "a faithful minister in the Lord," having been the means of gathering their souls to the inward appearance and "patient waiting for Christ." See page 32 of this volume. So sensible of this, were those who vehemently sought to lay waste this testimony, and so troubled at his unwearied and unyielding zeal, that they would several times let him go forth from among his companions in custody, or miss some meeting he was known to be at; and, being conscious how they had wronged him, would have been glad of some means of being disencumbered of him, could they have effected this with credit to themselves. He would often acknowledge to his friends, that he still felt his mind fettered, so that he could not be satisfied to leave them; but, after attending the Monthly Meeting in the 9th month, 1679, he appeared to have a prospect of the cessation of persecution,

and signified that he was wholly clear, both in the sight of his Maker and with respect to all men, to return to his home in England. It was remarkable, that, after this period, Friends were left to enjoy without interruption their religious meetings; nor were they afterward deprived of their personal liberty, for endeavouring to fulfil the apostolic injunction—"I will that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting." 1 Tim. ii. 8.

During the close imprisonment of many of this people in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, three out of their number, namely, Patrick Livingston, just noticed, with George Gray and Andrew Jaffray, were the most frequently engaged, in the aboundings of Christian love, to preach to the people out of their prison-windows, especially on market-days, exhorting them to fear the Lord, and to obey the gospel of his grace. This practice was highly displeasing to the magistrates. They therefore sought to prevent it, by causing these three individuals to be separated from the rest of their companions, and violently thrust up into a close vaulted cell, situated on the top of the gaol, and called the Iron-house, where the worst of felons and murderers were usually confined. They had neither light nor air, except through a long hole in the thick wall, which had a double grating of iron on the outside, and another within. Here they were kept night and day, in the heat of the summer of 1678; when the filthiness of the place, and the corruption of the air so closely pent up, produced "a multitude of worms, called white maggots, and other vermin, which swarmed about, even upon their beds and victuals," and manifestly tended to the extreme danger of their health and lives. Yet, through the Divine goodness, while in this melancholy situation, and "thus as it were buried alive," they were preserved in cheerfulness; and "their very natural voices strengthened, and raised up as trumpets, mightily to sound forth God's glorious truth and power, through the said hole in the

wall;—and though four or five stories high, and double grated as aforesaid, so that their faces could not *win* near to see into the street below, yet were they distinctly heard all over the street by the people," who the more frequently got together. After seven weeks' continuance under the pressure of these aggravated circumstances of cruelty, the persecutors not finding their end answered, but rather that their endeavours to prevent the prisoners from preaching had increased the desire of the people to hear them, at length allowed Patrick Livingston and George Gray to rejoin the rest of their friends, who were in the prison below; Andrew Jaffray, at the urgent complaint of some of his relations who were not Friends, having been admitted to this state of comparative liberty somewhat sooner.

The last religious meeting of the Society in Aberdeen, from which any of their number were conveyed to prison, appears to have been held on the 4th of the 9th month, then called November, 1679, when George Keith, Patrick Livingston, Thomas Mercer, Robert Gordon, Robert Winchester, Robert Burnett, Robert Barclay, Ochiltrie Ferindaile, John Milne, John Mercer, Andrew Jaffray, George Gray, William Alexander, Robert Sandilands, John Forbes, Daniel Hamilton, and John Skene were apprehended and taken into custody; but, in about three hours after, they were all set at liberty. From which period, their solemn assemblies were held without molestation from the magistrates; on whose minds, the constancy and patience of the sufferers, could scarcely fail of producing some favorable effect. This, however, is but conjecture. The most satisfactory mode of accounting for the cessation of these unchristian proceedings against this body, would appear to be, the persevering efforts of one of their number, Robert Barclay, who possessed great interest with the Duke of York, afterward James the 2nd. For in an address to the King, soon after his accession to the throne, drawn up and

presented by this Friend on behalf of the Society in Scotland,—he attributes the opening of their prison doors in the year 1679, to the influence of King James (when Duke of York) with the government of that country.

It was a settled observation among this people, as they strongly testify, that during their deepest sufferings at Aberdeen, they not only found the favour of God attending, but also his hand of Providence preserving them; so that while their spirits were continued cheerful, praising the Lord, in the midst of the most grievous of their afflictions, even their bodies were kept in health and strength, beyond human expectation, under all that very unwholesome confinement. And further, through the same overruling power, even the malice of those who rose up against them, was made subservient to the spreading of that doctrine, which it had been the design of such to crush. For, during this persecution, their appointed meetings in that city, were not only held at the usual times, but greatly increased in the number of attendants. The women, whose husbands were so frequently shut up in prison, failed not, with their children, to draw together for the worship of the Almighty, at the stated seasons and in the accustomed places; so that the unflinching constancy of these, with the accession of other persons out of the country, and the returning of the prisoners as soon and as often as they were released, disappointed thus far the intentions of the magistrates, who were unable to prevent the holding of any one of the public assemblies of the people called Quakers, during the whole course of the persecution.

While this conscientious class of protesting Christians, felt themselves in duty bound passively to submit to what might be permitted to come upon them at the will of ungodly men; and while they richly partook of that all-sufficient help, which never fails the faithful and upright-hearted; they yet looked forward with quiet expectation, with firm and full assurance,

to the time, when they should be ridden out of the hand of the wicked; when their Lord and Master, who will not allow any to be tried beyond what he knows is best, should be pleased to cut short their trials, and in effect to say, "It is enough." There was no people, who had better claim to those words of the Psalmist, Psal. xxxi., "My times are in thy hand:"—for their all was surrendered up unto his sovereign disposal. There was no people, whom that language more fitly became, which was first uttered by King David, in the same Psalm, and afterward by David's Lord, "Into thine hands I commit [or commend] my spirit." In the lips of such, the succeeding prayer, ver. 15, was altogether appropriate, and, we may believe, accepted, "Deliver me from the hand of mine enemies, and from them that persecute me." They had cause to trust, that "the cry of the humble" would not be forgotten; but that, in due season, "for the oppression of the poor," the Lord would most assuredly "arise." They had read, that He "preserveth the faithful, and plentifully rewardeth the proud doer," that he "judgeth the righteous," and "is angry with the wicked every day." "If he turn not," continues the same inspired writer, "He will whet his sword: he hath bent his bow, and made it ready. He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death; He ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors." Entertaining these Scriptural views, it was rather with mingled feelings of awful admiration than of mere surprise, that they beheld "the reward of the wicked." They could not but notice the remarkable concurrence of several unusual events, which overtook the principal instruments of their wrongs, whereby the cause of the persecutors was weakened; and, in these things, they saw and acknowledged so many tokens of Divine displeasure, manifested against the workers of iniquity; according to that declaration, "God is known by the judgment which he executeth;" and again, "God shall

wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses."

But to whom do these remarks apply? Most certainly, in a primary and prominent sense, though not by any means exclusively, to him whose character the voice of history has indelibly stamped, as "the most unprincipled man of his day,"—the Archbishop Sharpe, —to him, who added this to the black catalogue of those things, which, it cannot be doubted, were registered against him by the just Judge of all the earth,— that he fought against God and those who meekly feared him, against those who loved their very enemies, and purely sought the good of all. See *Appendix*, Z. The Friends of Aberdeen testify of him, that he "was the very chief and principal instrument of all our sufferings, by his power in the Council:" and the same document states, that he was one of those who procured that Commission to be appointed, by whom the Friends were so unjustly censured; and that he himself spoke very pressingly to some of the members of it, to endeavour to root out the Quakers. Indeed, it was signified to some of the Friends, as they say, "by those who well knew it, that it was only he who stopped any favourable answer from being given by the Council to our bills; and that if he would lie by, they would undoubtedly be well answered." It will not be forgotten, that to him were addressed, upwards of two years before, those faithful, weighty words of warning, contained in a letter of Robert Barclay, before recorded, but worthy of being here repeated.— "So, the God of truth, whom we serve with our spirits in the gospel of his Son, and to whom vengeance belongs, (so we leave it,) would certainly, in his own time and way, avenge our quarrel, [in case thou should prove inexorable towards us;] whose dreadful judgments should be more terrible unto thee, and much more justly to be feared, than the violent assaults or secret assassinations of thy other antagonists. That thou mayst prevent both the one and the other, by a

Christian moderation suitable to the office thou layest claim to, is the desire of thy soul's well-wisher, R. Barclay."

"How remarkable," exclaim the sufferers, in their notice of the fact, which soon after transpired, "was the just judgment as from the Lord, though the hand of man was cruel and barbarous therein,—one cruel spirit punishing another,—in what befell" the Archbishop; "although," continued they, "we neither wished him evil, nor approved but abhorred" the act and the spirit of it. It is presumed, that the reader will scarcely need to be informed, that, in the 3rd month, 1679, the Archbishop Sharpe was way-laid by some of the Presbyterians, as he passed in his coach and six, and inhumanly assassinated, his murderers calling him an apostate, a betrayer, and a persecutor.

The three public preachers of Aberdeen, Meldrum, Menzies, and Mitchell, who had so furiously and maliciously set themselves against Friends, as well as the spiritual testimony upheld by these, were about the same time removed from their office, one by death, the others by law,—being deprived of their power, and silenced from preaching. With regard to Meldrum, who had been the most active in this work of persecution, even beyond any of his class in Scotland, and had threatened that he would, if practicable, absolutely put a stop to the meetings of the "Quakers" in Aberdeen;—it was singular enough, that this man should not only have had his own mouth actually stopped by man, but that impediment so effectually continued upon him,—as the sufferers relate,—even after the King had given such ample toleration to all Nonconformists, and notwithstanding his own desires, and the endeavours of that city that he might be reinstated in his charge. Surely, in such an instance, "The lying lips" were "put to silence, which speak grievous things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous." Psal. xxxi. 18.

A further evidence of the Lord's tender care over

his little ones in this district, appeared in the case of the Laird of Haddo; who, being made Chancellor, and "lending an ear to the wicked lies that were fabricated to the prejudice of the Society, set himself against that stumbling-stone and rock of offence laid in Zion, the lowly appearance of Jesus Christ in the heart." Being violent in the King's Council, on one occasion, together with the Bishop of Aberdeen, to have the meeting-house that Friends had built at Kinmuck pulled down, and their school destroyed; he found the more moderate of his colleagues were averse to the measure. For they said, It was against law to pull down a dwelling fire-house, as it was termed; and if one Quaker meeting-house was pulled down, it behoved them to pull down every Quaker dwelling-house also; for as long as they had one, they would meet in it. Upon this, it is credibly stated, on certain information, that he said, He would not trouble more, but do it with his own authority. "After this," proceeds the manuscript, "within a very short time, our God, who says, They that dishonour me shall be lightly esteemed, stirred up a faction against him, who got him, not without disgrace, to be displaced from his office, having been in it scarcely two years."

Surely, after such repeated cases of a similar description and tendency, these poor people had some sufficient ground administered, for taking up that beautiful song of David, Psal. cxxiv. "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may Israel say;—if it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us: then the waters had overwhelmed us,—the stream had gone over our soul: then the proud waters had gone over our soul. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth! Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our

help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth!"

CHAPTER XIV.

1681: the harmony of Friends in some danger—visit of John Burnyeat—1686: David Barclay's death—1689: account of George Gray—his letter to his Friends.

In the course of the preceding pages, a connected historical detail has been brought together, principally exhibiting the conduct of this portion of the flock of Christ, under that system of opposition and oppression, with which they were for many years assailed. Other biographical particulars of the Friends in Scotland, in a somewhat more detached shape, are now to follow: they chiefly embrace the little which has been preserved, relative to the pious career and closing hours of several of these, who were counted worthy to bear the burden and heat of that day.

No sooner had persecution of this description in great measure ceased, than we find the enemy of all good devised a snare for their hurt, more likely to prove successful against them than any open hostility. By infusing into certain individuals of this little band, who had hitherto been of one heart and of one mind, evil surmisings and malicious jealousies against the body of Friends, but especially against those who occupied conspicuous stations among them;—in this way did he seek to break in upon and lay waste "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Happily, and, as they testify, through the remarkable care as well as tender regard of the great Shepherd, who sleepeth not by day, nor slumbereth by night, this undermining evil was timely discovered and exposed; those few who joined with it, and were the chief occasion of this division, being formally excluded from fellowship

among them. Alexander Harper and Isabella Keillo, —names that appear in the early part of the Memoirs, —were of this number. It appears, that one ground of their dissatisfaction and calumnious reproaches against the Friends, is to be traced to their reception of the baneful principles of Rogers and Bugg, two noted apostates from the faith and practice of the Society in England. It is recorded, that very shortly previous to this affair breaking out, George Rook, a Friend from Cumberland, wholly uninformed as to their situation, visited Aberdeen, and had to declare in the meeting, that his mind was under suffering, while sitting among them, "From an undermining, murmuring, wicked spirit, that was working against the faithful, and the unity of the body, which God would in due time discover and judge out from among his people."

In the year 1681, John Burnyeat, together with Peter Fearon, paid their Scottish fellow-professors a visit, in the line of gospel love and labour. The former Friend, it may be remembered, had discharged among them this important office of a Christian minister, almost as early as there were any in Scotland, stigmatized by their neighbours under the scornful appellation of "Quaker." Three years only elapsed, ere we find this individual engaged a third time in the same weighty duty. For, by a letter of his, dated Leith, the 6th of the 8th month, 1684, it is clear, that he had taken journey north from that place, with two others, and had spent about three weeks in holding meetings almost every day; "having" as he describes it, "a blessed open service through the Lord's power amongst Friends; for there is an open, tender-hearted people, and they were glad of my coming; for there had not been an English Friend among them of a long time." It appears, he was particularly concerned, that decent order and care, becoming a Christian church, should prevail and be maintained in all its branches.

It will not be forgotten, that among those champions, who fearlessly withstood the encroachments of intolerance, was David Barclay of Ury; respecting whom, indeed, it is to be regretted, considering his station in life and the noble character he bore with all classes, that so few and inadequate notices have been preserved. After his son had been the means of procuring his liberation from prison, where the last mention of him is made, he was not much molested; his influence with those in power, or rather their respect for him, very much serving to ward off the malice of inferior magistrates. On one occasion, in his declining years, we find, he accompanied his old acquaintance, John Swintoune, to London, chiefly with the view of "visiting his friends:" and sometimes we trace him at Edinburgh on the like account. Again, in the spring of 1683, he was in London, his friend Andrew Jaffray being with him; also his son Robert and wife with their eldest boy, whom they were conveying to George Keith's boarding-school at Theobald's in Hertfordshire. But, for the most part, David Barclay, passed the remainder of his days on his own estate of Ury; enjoying, as it is stated, with much satisfaction, the tranquillity of a country life, after many years of hardship and of trial; possessing also, in a high degree, the esteem of all who knew him;—but, above all, that inestimable treasure, "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding," and which is alone able to keep the soul "through Jesus Christ."

A few fleeting years thus spent in preparing to meet his Judge and Saviour, brought him to the 76th year of his age; soon after this, he took a fever, which in about a fortnight, was the means of removing him from this earthly scene. Upon the 12th of the month called October, 1686, his body was borne to a new burial-place, selected as such by himself, situated on a rising eminence near a mile to the north-west of his house; he having, when in perfect health, and some time before his death, ordered the manner of his inter-

ment by a writing under his hand. But notwithstanding his particular request, that none might be expressly invited on that occasion, except those of the Society and his own tenants; yet, the hour being known, a numerous train attended, especially of the higher rank, who, from the regard they bore to him while living, came to pay this last office of respect to his memory. The account of his religious departure, drawn up by his son, can scarcely be read without effect,—it is so touching, so weighty, yet so simple; discovering that dignified composure and humble trust, which drew from survivors the declaration of their belief, that he was "kept in the patience and faith of Jesus."

During the time of his last sickness, David Barclay was preserved in a quiet, contented mind, freely resigned to the will of God; and gave several living testimonies to the Truth, and to the love of God, shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost. Although there was hardly to be found one in a thousand like him for natural vigour at his age, and although his fever was at times very strong; yet he never was "insensible," nor did any wrong expression or action proceed from him, nor yet the least symptom of discontent or fretfulness. He had previously been troubled with a very painful disorder, and after the commencement of his illness, had much suffering from that cause; and, about two days before his death, while those around were helping him up, in a sense of weakness and in an agony, he said, "I am going now"—then instantly checking himself, he added, "But I shall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren, who are gone before me,—and to my dear son."—This was his youngest son, David, who died at sea about a year before, on his voyage to East Jersey. He was an amiable youth, of exemplary life and conversation, and was an acceptable preacher among Friends.

On the 11th of the 8th month, (continues Robert Barclay,) about two or three o'clock in the morning,

he growing weaker, I drew near to him. He said "Is this my son?' I said, Yea; and spake a few words, signifying my travail, that He who had loved him might be near him to the end. He answered, "The Lord is nigh," repeating it, "You are my witnesses in the presence of God, that the Lord is nigh." A little after, he said, "The perfect discovery of 'the Day-spring from on high'—how great a blessing it hath been to me and to my family!" My wife desiring to know, if he would have something to wet his mouth, he said, It needed not. She said, It would refresh him: he laid his hand upon his breast, saying, He had that inwardly which refreshed him. After a little while he added at several times these words, "The Truth is over all!"

He took my eldest son to him, and blessed him, saying, He prayed God, he might never depart from the Truth. My eldest daughter Patience coming near, he said, "Is this Patience? Let patience have its perfect work in thee! And after kissing the others, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. He called for my father-in-law, and two of his daughters that were present, and spake some weighty words very kindly. And perceiving one of them, who was not a Friend, weeping much, he desired for her, that she might come to the Truth; and bade her not weep for him, but for herself.

A sober man, an apothecary, that waited upon him in his weakness, coming near, he took him by the hand, saying, "Thou wilt bear me witness, that in all this exercise, I have not been curious to tamper nor to pamper the flesh." He answered, "Sir, I can bear witness, that you have always minded the better and more substantial part; and rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is bringing you to." He replied, "Bear a faithful and true witness:—yet, it is the life of righteousness, it is the life of righteousness, that we bear testimony to, and not to an empty profession." Then he call several times, "Come Lord

Jesus, come, come!" And again, "My hope is in the Lord."—Now and then he slept, perhaps during the space of ten hours. On observing a countryman come into the room, he thought it had been one of his tenants, a carpenter; I telling him, it was not he, but another, he said to me, "See thou charge him, to make no manner of superfluity upon my coffin."

About three in the afternoon, there came several Friends from Aberdeen to see him. He took them by the hand, and said several times, They were come in a seasonable time. After some words were spoken, and Patrick Livingston had prayed, which ended in praises, he held up his hands, and said, "Amen! Amen, for ever!" And afterward, when they stood looking at him, he said, "How precious is the love of God among his children, and their love one to another. Thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if you love one another. How precious a thing it is, to see brethren dwell together in love! My love is with you—I leave it among you."

About eight at night, several Friends standing around the bed, he, perceiving some of them weep, said, "Dear Friends! all mind the inward man—heed not the outward:—there is One that doth regard—the Lord of hosts is his name!" After he heard the clock strike three in the morning, he said, "Now the time comes!" A little after, he was heard to say, "Praises, praises, praises to the Lord!—Let now thy servant depart in peace.—Unto thy hands, O Father! I commit my soul, spirit, and body.—Thy will, O Lord! be done in earth, as it is in heaven."—These sentences he spoke by short intervals, one after another; and at a little after five in the morning, the 12th day of the 8th month, fell asleep like a lamb, in remarkable quietness and calmness.

Many were the pious lessons conveyed by the dying, which an all-wise Providence saw meet, in the course of a few years, to lay before the view of a rising generation in Scotland, the successors of these faithful

witnesses of Emmanuel, God with us: Three years only elapsed, and they had to resign another of their number, George Gray; who, on the 8th of the 12th month, 1689–90, was called away to give account of his stewardship.

He is represented by his friends, to have been a worthy, precious, and useful labourer in the Lord's vineyard thereaway, the savour and power as well as fruits of whose comfortable ministry, remained in the hearts of many. "His memorial," say they, "is sweet and flourishing, and shall live in generations to come as a faithful servant of the Lord, and steward of his manifold gifts and graces in the church." By trade he was a weaver, and worked very hard with his hands, up to nearly the close of his life, in all intervals of disengagement from his higher calling: not only that he might in no wise make the gospel chargeable, but in order to set a good example of honest industry. His care and zeal was great, in the first place, to have his own conversation well ordered, and then, that the least appearance of evil might be abstained from throughout the whole circle of his friends; that thus, all things truly lovely, comely, of good report, and for the honour of the blessed cause, might be thoroughly followed, by himself as a pattern to the flock, and by his fellow-professors. The cheerful patience and steadfastness, with which he underwent that portion of suffering that befell him for the Truth, was very conspicuous, especially during the long imprisonment which he and his Friends sustained at Aberdeen.

He was one much exercised and engaged on all public occasions, as at fairs and markets; especially would he, when under close confinement, often address the people from his prison-windows—indeed, it was there, that he was first put forth in that service. He not only endured much in his person, counting it joy to suffer shame for the Lord Jesus, that His power might rest upon him; but was permitted to undergo

the spoiling of "a great part of the mean outward substance" which he possessed. He loved to spend and be spent in the service of his good Master; so great was his zeal in this respect, that it seemed to consume his natural strength: thus, he swiftly ran out his blessed race, laying down his earthly tabernacle as early as the 49th year of his age. A little before his departure, being filled with the power of the Lord, he gave weighty exhortation and counsel to all that were present, especially to his children. To some Friends who came to see him, he declared, He had not kept back the word and counsel of the Lord from them; and now he could say, it was good doctrine to leave nothing to do till a dying bed.

A letter addressed by George Gray to the Friends of the country meeting at Colliehill, at a time when he was very young in the Truth, and but entering into his public ministry, may serve, not only "for some taste of his spirit;" but as depicting also in certain respects the state of that meeting, for whose advancement in grace, and in saving knowledge, we may remember, George Gray was especially interested. See page 92. It is dated from the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, the 8th of the 3rd month, 1676.

"My dear Friends in the Truth!

"The salutation of life and love be multiplied in and among you, from the Father of love and life!

"In the sense of the pure love of God, which flows in my heart towards you, do I warn and exhort you, to walk in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which crucifieth us to the world and the world to us. And watch in patience, and meekness, and calmness of spirit against every thing that would draw out the mind, in any measure, from the true meeting-place, either in or out of meeting. For truly, my Friends, he or she that doth not watch diligently out of meeting, but let their minds go a gadding to the ends of the earth, and take no heed to have them gathered in before they come to meeting—truly, it is no wonder

to see such disappointed. And therefore, my dear Friends, be careful, every one in particular, to keep your minds stayed upon the Lord, and the Lord will not be wanting to you; for great is his condescending to us in this day, and wonderful is his work to those that truly watch and wait upon him!

"Therefore, my dear Friends, every one know your place, and let not any go out, nor look out beyond your measures; and let none speak, nor sing, nor sigh, nor groan, but in a true sense of their conditions; and let none make haste to speak any thing before the Lord, which they know not to be from the true power, but all wait for the power and life, and the love of God. For truly, where the love of God is not placed in the heart, the true power will not attend their performances, neither will God regard their speech or prayer. Therefore, dear Friends, dwell in love, and walk in love towards all men and women; and feel the love of God in your hearts flowing forth to all, whether they love you or hate you. For where hatred is brought forth against any person, upon whatsoever account it be, although you may think the cause just, yet it will separate you from the love of God; for envy and hatred are of the devil, and he is there where this is; and Christ Jesus will not dwell with him in unity. And therefore, my dear brethren and sisters, love one another with that love wherewith Christ hath loved you, and likewise your enemies; for love gathereth to God, but envy scattereth. Therefore, I warn you, in the fear and dread of the everlasting God, that ye be not hinderers of the work of the Lord; for dreadful will their portion be, that let or hinder it in this day, or bring an evil report upon it. So, take warning, my Friends, and every one look to their way, and to the prosperity of Truth. And, my Friends, I thought the zeal of Truth should have had more effect upon some, than I see it hath; but I shall forbear, leaving every one to their own Master:—but they that follow for loaves and fishes,

when they get them not, will fail even in that zeal also.

" ' My little children, love one another.'

" GEORGE GRAY."

CHAPTER XV.

1690: Religious progress and latter end of Robert Barclay—Letter of George Fox to his widow—His character.

BUT the loss which the Friends in this part of the country sustained by the removal of such men as George Gray and David Barclay, was not all; it was quickly followed, and without doubt exceeded by the death of one, whom they and the Society at large were bound in a more than ordinary manner to esteem, as "worthy of double honour." "Surprising," says William Penn, "was the death of dear Robert Barclay, to me particularly, from the share I claimed in him, and the esteem I had for him: but that which gave weight to my sorrow, was the loss which thereby comes to the church of God, and especially in Scotland. That he lived no longer, who was so well fitted to live for the service and honour of the Truth, and the good of God's people, must render his death more afflicting to all those, who desire to be reckoned among this number."—"O Friends!" continues the same writer, "if precious in the eyes of the Lord be the death of his saints, ought not their labours and death to be precious to the Lord's people?"

But before touching upon his close, we must take a view,—such a superficial view as the existing documents oblige us to take,—of those transactions which throw light upon the religious progress of this "prince in Israel," 2 Sam. iii. 38, during the last ten years of his pilgrimage. Hitherto his course has been that of the Christian advocate, strenuous and firm, yet tender

and discreet, in all his services for the cause in which he engaged; meek and patient also, under those numerous provocations which were poured upon him. But the days of public persecution being now over, as regards the Friends in Scotland, and the principles they uniformly held becoming better understood by the public, we do not find that fresh occasions presented for such laborious exercises as those, in which Robert Barclay had been hitherto involved for the defence and spreading of the gospel. The same voice, which had sounded an alarm in the ear of his soul, which had girded him for this description of warfare and put him forth in it, many a time giving him the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, doubtless conveyed to his submissive spirit a release from the field of controversy. It was this, which now led him in a line of duty, less conspicuous indeed, and less accounted of by men, but in its place and season no less acceptable in the sight of God. Not that it was the easeful, inert, instinctive observance of such duty, either in a private, social, or more enlarged scale, that could satisfy the cravings of his enlivened soul;—for if so, the character of Barclay has been strangely misrepresented. We have, on the contrary, good cause to assume, however few the traces of his latter years which have come down to us, that this portion of his life was equally passed under the blessed influence of that Sun of righteousness, which had gilded his earlier path,—that the evidences of his peace and adoption grew brighter and brighter till his final change.

We find him represented during this period, as being warmly alive to the welfare of his fellow-men, his family and relations, his friends and his acquaintance; but more especially so, in what concerned the cause of his brethren in religious connection. He employed himself in many acts of kindness and friendship towards each of these; and was several times from home at Edinburgh or in London, more often on behalf of others than on account of his own affairs; but

particularly applied his interest at court, which was considerable, and the frequent access which he had to the person of King James the 2nd, for the benefit of his friends and of others. Being connected, or on terms of intimacy, with some families of the highest rank in Scotland, he had great opportunity of evincing, in his daily intercourse, the practical operation of those religious principles, respecting which both vocally and with his pen he had so largely treated. And there are sufficient proofs, that he possessed the esteem and confidence of that class in no common degree. On one occasion, it appears, he was made use of, in composing a difference between the Duke of Gordon and "Sir Ewen Cameron," who had married his sister, Jean Barclay; and undertook a journey to London chiefly with this view; which object was at length accomplished, as it is said, by the King's interposition. See *Appendix*, AA.

In the Memoirs of the family, it is also stated, that "In 1682, the Earls of Perth and Melfort, with the other proprietors, elected him Governor of East Jersey, North America; and to induce him to accept thereof, they gifted him a large propriety with five thousand acres more for him to bestow as he should think fit, the government being confirmed to him during life by King Charles the 2nd's letter;—his commission bears, that 'such is his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life, but that every Governor after him, shall have it three years only.' He had likewise the power of appointing a deputy governor, with a salary of four hundred pounds per annum." Whatever worthy purposes he might have had, in accepting this post, it is clear, that patronage rather than riches would be the immediate result; and this, with a very considerable weight of care and responsibility. But it seems, that the settlement of his two younger brothers in that province, became part of the design, although with regard to the youngest, David, this plan, owing to his death while on the voyage, was not permitted to take effect.

The little incident, well known to readers among the Society of Friends, of Robert Barclay's rencounter with highwaymen, on his way back to Scotland from London, in 1683, will not by them be expected to be passed over, in these recollections of his life and conduct. His grandson's own account, now before the Author, may at least be fresh to every one.

"Having staid most of the summer [in London] visiting his friends, —— as he, with his wife and brother in law [Gilbert Molleson,] and his intimate friend Aaron Sonemans, an eminent merchant in Holland, were travelling homeward in company together, they were upon the 8th of August attacked in Stonegate hole, in Huntingdonshire, by highwaymen. One of them presented a pistol to my grandfather; he took him by the arm very calmly, asking how he came to be so rude—for he knew his business. The fellow, trembling, dropt the pistol out of his hand upon the ground, in great surprise, and did not so much as demand any thing. But his brother-in-law was rifled, and poor Sonemans was shot through the thigh, [it was thought more by accident than design,] who being with some difficulty brought to Stilton, died in a few days of the wound. I had the above accounts from my grandmother, who likewise told me that she observed my grandfather, that morning before they were attacked, more pensive than usual; and that he told her, it was his opinion, some unusual trial or exercise was to befall them that day; but when the affair happened, he enjoyed a remarkable serenity."

He was again in London in the year 1685, and also in 1687; the latter time, very much in compliance with the pressing solicitations of Friends, especially of George Fox; an extract from whose original letter, in the possession of the writer of these pages, may best explain their wishes, while it will serve as a standing testimonial of their love, and of the sense which they had of Robert Barclay's use in serving the cause he had espoused.

"Dear Friend, R. B.,

"———Now the occasion of my writing unto thee at this time is,—that Friends are very sensible of the great service thou hadst concerning the Truth with the King and at the court, and that thou hadst their ears more than any Friend, when here, and freedom and liberty on Friends' and Truth's behalf. And now, dear Robert, we understanding, that the occasion of thy sudden return [homeward was now passed,] I do desire thee, and it is the desire of several other Friends, that now, while the door is open and the way so plain, thou wouldst be pleased to come to London with speed, or as soon as may be,—for there is a great service in it, thou having such free access; and when thou art here, Friends may let thee know their minds further. And so, dear Robert, there is a great service in thy coming, upon several accounts, more than I shall speak of at this time;—and so I hope the Lord will incline thy heart to weigh and consider thy service in it. And so, once more, with my love,

"G. F."

"Edmonton, 19th of the 5th month, 1686."

The death of his worthy parent, David Barclay, before recited, and that of a sister soon after, with the various concerns that would, in consequence, devolve upon him as representative of the family, sufficiently account for his apparent slackness in acceding to so urgent a request as the foregoing. When in the metropolis, he drew up and presented to the King the sincere acknowledgments of the Friends in Scotland, on account of his proclamation in favour of liberty of conscience; and there is little doubt, he attended the Yearly Meeting of the Society, held in London in the 3rd month, 1687. But it is not clearly made out, what special benefit resulted to that body, from any exertions of his at this juncture on their behalf. Direct persecution had then, generally speaking, ceased; yet the legal incapacity of this people, in consequence

of their refusing to swear; the ruinous processes usually instituted against them for tithes even of small amount; together with the little security which they felt, whilst the penal laws were only suspended, and that, by a power which they knew to be incompetent; —such considerations would naturally induce them to wish, that the degree of ease which they now enjoyed, might rest on a more satisfactory basis. Indeed, it is evident by the address, which went up to the King this year from the Society at large, that they looked for "such a concurrence from the Parliament, as will," they say, "secure it to our posterity." Whatever might have been the principles of James the 2nd, (as the compiler of the Life of Robert Barclay justly observes,) the latter, probably influenced by the personal kindness he received from the King, seems to have thought him sincere in his professions; while it may be further suggested, whether a fervent Christian desire and charitable hope respecting him, might not have been the origin of that real regard, which Barclay evidently cherished towards the misguided and imprudent monarch.

While in London, our Friend had an interview with the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower. It will be recollected, that they refused to distribute, in in their respective dioceses, the King's declaration of indulgence, and had represented to the King the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops; yet the former severities of some of that order against dissenters, particularly against Friends, occasioned some reflections on them; which, coming to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared that the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some. Robert Barclay being informed of this, went to the Tower; and gave the bishops a well substantiated account of some, who had been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the impend-

ing danger by physicians who were not "Quakers." He, however, told them, that since they themselves through change of circumstances were now under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the Friends, to give the King or their adversaries any advantage against them, by publishing such incidents.

On his way home from London in the 6th month, Robert Barclay stopped two days at Chester, where the King then was, upon a progress. There, in the Tennis Court, he and William Penn had "a most large meeting," as he calls it in his Diary; the King himself being present at one of the religious opportunities, held in the Friends' meeting-house. Passing through Lancashire, Robert Barclay visited Swarthmore, formerly the house of Judge Fell, whose widow was married to George Fox.

Soon after the commencement of the next year, 1688, he took his last journey to London, where he staid the whole summer, "visiting and serving his friends to the utmost of his power." His eldest son Robert, who discovered a heart "devoted to religion from his infancy," was with him, being then but sixteen years of age. The father, judicious and discriminating, as he is described to have been, in his care over his children, did not object to introduce him to the court of King James at Windsor; where he remained some considerable time, being much caressed, it is said, on account of his father's interest, which occasioned numerous dependents.

Though this fact is probably calculated, at first sight, to startle most minds; such feeling may be measurably allayed by considerations like the following. It cannot with reason be said, that in every supposable case, this line of conduct in a parent would be altogether unwarrantable or inexpedient. Yet, it is freely admitted, the present instance should form by no means a warrant or precedent for any to venture upon, unless under circumstances that may equally bear the weight of the risk and responsibility.

It may be safely concluded, that Robert Barclay had duly reflected on the subject;—that he was fully acquainted with the character and propensities of his child,—that he had thoroughly before his view the degree of exposure, which, under his own firm and prudent control, was likely to be incurred. And further we are assured, that he himself was no novice with regard either to the allurements of this present evil world, the weakness of the creature, or the wiles of the destroyer. On the other hand, few had more occasion to trust in Divine protection and grace wherever duty called or Providence might lead him. It is an interesting appurtenance to the foregoing statement, and gives some force to the remarks which follow it,—that when this youth grew up, had run his course, and had done with time, his friends could in their expressive way testify of him, that even throughout this critical time to which we are precisely referring, "his conversation was clean and void of offence:"—and how is this accounted for?—they add, in the same sentence, that which is the best explanation—"He may be truly said to have remembered his Creator in the days of his youth."

Previous to quitting London, Robert Barclay had an interview with the King, which shall be described in the words of his grandson.—"At this time he took his last leave of the King, for whose apparent misfortunes he was much concerned; having, as my grandmother informed me, several times discoursed with him upon the posture of affairs at that juncture, about settling the differences like to arise; and sometimes agreeable resolutions were taken, but one way or other prevented from being executed. At their parting, being in a window with the King, where none other was present, who looking out said, The wind was now fair for the Prince of Orange coming over; upon which my grandfather took occasion to say, It was hard that no expedient could be found out to satisfy the people: to which the King replied, That he would

do any thing becoming a gentleman, except to part with liberty of conscience, which he never would while he lived.

On his return home, Robert Barclay spent the remaining two years of his life in much retirement, chiefly at home, enjoying the esteem and regard of his neighbours, the comforts of domestic society, and doubtless partaking also in good measure, a soul-sustaining evidence of Divine approbation. In the year 1690, he accompanied James Dickenson, a minister from Cumberland, in a religious visit to some parts of the north of Scotland: coming to Ury, from a meeting at Aberdeen, he immediately sickened, being seized with a violent fever, which continued upon him about eight or nine days, when it pleased the Lord to take him out of this world, to a kingdom and glory that is eternal.

James Dickenson was with him at the time of his illness. It was a solemn season: and as he sat by him, the Lord's power and presence bowed their hearts together, and Robert Barclay was sweetly melted in a sense of God's love. Though much oppressed by the disorder, an entirely resigned, peaceful, and Christian frame of mind shone through all. With tears, he expressed the love he bore towards "all faithful brethren in England, who keep their integrity to the Truth," and added, "Remember my love to Friends in Cumberland, at Swarthmore, and to dear George [meaning George Fox,] and to all the faithful every where; concluding with these comfortable words—"God is good still: and though I am under a great weight of sickness and weakness as to my body, yet my peace flows. And this I know,—that whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God's glory and my salvation: and in that I rest."—He died on the 3rd of the 8th month, then called October, 1690, in the 42d year of his age; the remains being attended to the grave in the family burial-place at Ury, by many Friends and others of the neighbourhood.

Among the numerous letters of condolence addressed to the widow, by different classes of their intimate acquaintance, are two,—the first from the Countess of Errol, said to have been "one of the most religious as well as accomplished ladies of her time;" and the other from Robert Barclay's very especial Friend, George Fox, with whom he maintained a frequent correspondence. The former may be allowed a place in the Notes to this volume, as an expressive proof of the estimation in which he was held by one of that rank; See *Appendix*, BB; but the latter is too extraordinary an effusion of the ancient, evangelical spirit, to be withheld from a prominent place in these pages. It proved the last letter, except one, which that worthy ever wrote.

GEORGE FOX TO CHRISTIAN BARCLAY.

"28th of 10th month, 1690.

"Dear Friend!

"With my love to thee and thy children, and all the rest of Friends in the holy Seed, CHRIST JESUS, that reigns over all; in whom ye have all life, and salvation, and rest, and peace with God!

"Now, dear Friend, though the Lord hath taken thy dear husband from thee, his wife, and his children, the Lord will be a Husband to thee, and a Father to thy children. Therefore, cast thy care upon the Lord, and trust in Him: let Him be thy confidence, and let thy eye be unto Him at all times; who is a great Ruler and Orderer of all, both in heaven and earth, and hath the breath and souls of all in his eternal infinite hand! And all the creation is upheld by his Word and power, by which they were made;—so that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his will and pleasure;—and his sons and servants in his image, are in greater value in his eye than many sparrows. Therefore, thou and thy family may rejoice, that thou hadst such an offering to offer up unto the Lord, as thy dear Husband; who, I know, is well in the Lord, in

whom he died, and is at rest from his labours, and his works follow him.

"And, now, my dear friend, do thy diligence in thy family, in bringing up thy children in the fear of the Lord, and his new covenant of life; that thou mayest present them to God as his children, and all thy servants and tenants, in the wisdom of God. Thou must answer the Truth in them all, in truth, holiness, righteousness, and justice, and walking humbly before God. Thou wilt always feel his presence to assist, and enable thee to perform whatsoever he requires of thee; so that whatever thou dost do, it may be to the honour and glory of God. And do not look at the outward presence of thy husband; but look at the Lord, and serve Him with a joyful heart, mind, soul, and spirit all the days thou livest upon the earth.

"From him, who had a great love and respect for thy dear husband, for his work and service in the Lord, who is content in the will of God, and all things that he doeth:—and so must thou be. And so, the Lord God Almighty, settle and establish thee and thine upon the heavenly Rock and Foundation; that, as thy children grow in years, they may grow in grace, and so in favour with the Lord. Amen!

"George Fox."

"Postcript. I know thy husband hath left a good savour behind him, so I desire thou mayst do the same."

The following faithful delineation of the character of "this worthy young man of God," as William Penn styles him, may be fresh to many readers; but is worthy the repeated attentive perusal of those, who claim connexion with the Society of Friends, especially among the younger classes. To adopt the language and motives of the same writer, William Penn, on the like occasion,—"For their example and encouragement," is this account given, "who have or hereafter may receive the eternal Truth, as well as for a testimony to the power and goodness of God in raising him up to his church." It is prepared from documents, put forth

by those cotemporaries of Robert Barclay who knew him well, and appears in the pages of 'A short Account of his Life and Writings.'

"He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved by a regular and classical education. It does not, however, appear, that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind, which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare, that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion, to every other attainment; and Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue. For the welfare of his friends, he was sincerely and warmly concerned; and he travelled, and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles, to which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity; and he loved and respected goodness, wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities, and the sauvity of his disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence; and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace; and was often instrumental to settling disputes, and in producing reconciliation between contending parties.

"In the support and pursuit of what he believed to be right, he possessed great firmness of mind; which was early evinced in the pious and dutiful sentiment he expressed to his uncle, who tempted him with great offers to remain in France, against the desire of his father: "He is my father," said he,

"and must be obeyed." All the virtues harmonize, and are connected with one another: this firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consoled by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and as occasion required, were relieved by his bounty. His spiritual discernment and religious experience, directed by that Divine influence which he valued above all things, eminently qualified him to instruct the ignorant, to reprove the irreligious, to strengthen the feeble-minded, and to animate the advanced Christian to still greater degrees of virtue and holiness.

"In private life, he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master.—Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of Divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel."

CHAPTER XVI.

1694: Narrative of Peter Gardiner's visit to Friends in Scotland, with his removal by death.

In the year 1694–5, the Friends in Scotland were visited in the love of the gospel by Peter Gardiner, a messenger of very rare and peculiar stamp, one who had evidently been given in a large measure to drink into the pure streams of apostolic times.

Some few and extraordinary passages, relative to

his journey so far north as Yorkshire, have already appeared in print in the pages of John Churchman's valuable Journal. After some search, the Author of the present volume has ascertained, that Peter Gardiner, or Gardner, (for his name is spelt both ways in the original documents,) lived not far from Castle Hedingham in Essex, perhaps *within* the borders of Suffolk; which may explain the substitution of one county for the other, in some of the records about to be referred to. The narrative, as published in the abovementioned Journal, is thus introduced:—"Having often remembered a remarkable account, given me when in England by our ancient, worthy Friend, John Richardson; which, as it made some impression on my mind, I committed to writing, and now reviving, think it is worthy to be preserved; being nearly as follows, though I was not particular in regard to the time of the occurrence." Philad. edit. 1818, p. 214. —Whether some individual besides John Churchman, had in like manner taken down the communication of John Richardson to them, is not known; but another version of it has been in circulation among Friends, which, while precisely the same as to all essential points, and therefore equally entitled to our credit, is rather preferable, as retaining a somewhat greater degree of originality. The reader will find this narrative in the Notes:—not because it is at all less worthy the special consideration of the judicious and awakened Christian, than the rest of Peter Gardiner's history; but because it might lead us too much away from the Progress of the Friends in Scotland. See *Appendix*, CC. With regard to his movements among Friends in that kingdom, we have but a few scattered particulars. The first to be adduced, relates to his visit at Aberdeen, and is mentioned by the Friends there, in the following terms:—

"We had at this Monthly Meeting, 3rd of 11th month, 1694–5, the acceptable and comfortable visit of two English Friends, Peter Gardiner in Suffolk,

and James Leech in Berwick." At the next Monthly Meeting, there is a more extended notice of the former of these, by way of testimony to the goodness of the Lord, in thus favouring his poor instrument, and the congregation at large.—" Our dear Friend, Peter Gardiner, mentioned to have been at the last Monthly Meeting, was eminently attended with a singular gift from God, in travailing for and bringing forth several young plants among Friends' children, into a public ministry, about the middle of last month: particularly Robert Barclay, Robert Gerard, and Margaret Jaffray, whose mouth was first opened: as well as he was the instrument of awakening several other young ones by a very tender visitation, which yet continues among them:—And, O that it may continue, and they in the sense of it, to the end of their days! As also, about this time, the blessed God of our life was graciously pleased to give us a new, fresh, and large visitation, in abundantly pouring out his Spirit and Life among us in our gatherings; and some more mouths were opened among elders, particularly dear John Forbes of Aquorthies, as also Jane Molleson."

A confirmation of the above, may be seen in the language of the Friends of Ury Meeting, on the like occasion. They speak of Peter Gardiner as being "an honest and faithful man, of a weighty and discerning spirit." "He had great service for Truth hereaway, with good success in several places, particularly at Aberdeen, and Ury, and Montrose; where many were wonderfully tendered and broken before the Lord, and several mouths were opened in testimony and prayer; particularly at Aberdeen, Robert Gerard, James and Timothy Forbes, and Margaret Jaffray; at Ury, Robert and David Barclay, and their sisters Christian and Catherine, their aunt Jane Molleson, and Joseph White; at Montrose, Jane Bettie wife of Robert Bettie."

In further illustration of the truth and import of the last-mentioned circumstances, it is pleasing to be

able to produce an interesting, though rough draft of this devoted labourer's services in the neighbourhood of Ury;—but especially in the family of "the Apologist," whose widow then resided on that estate, with her seven children, the eldest of whom (Robert,) has been already spoken of.—It will not have escaped the recollection of the reader, how beautifully George Fox, in his sympathetic address to this bereaved widow,—after setting forth the consolations which flow from an union with the Lord, as the Husband and Father of his people, endeavours to stimulate her to do the day's work, to put on his strength, and to hope for his blessing on a faithful discharge of her duty, as a spiritual nursing-mother over her household. Indeed, he goes further; and subjoins his fervent prayer, that her children may be established upon the Rock, Christ Jesus, and thus be favoured of the Most High, through the fervent exercise of their surviving parent. But, in proceeding to describe the successful issue of such labour, it may be well to pause—and hold up to view one means, among others, which she used, by way of laying open the ground of the hearts of her tender offspring to the genial rays of Divine Light. We are informed by a Friend, who, about this time, passed several days under her roof, that "when her children were up in the morning, and dressed, she sat down with them before breakfast, and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord;" "which pious care," he adds, "and motherly instruction of her children when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them; for, as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed Truth; and since that time, some of them are become public preachers thereof." J. Gratton's Life, 1823, p. 114.—Thus cherished and watered, did Peter Gardiner find this group of young "olive plants," when he entered their abode.

"Upon the 16th of the 11th month, 1694, it pleased the Lord to send him to Ury; having come by Aber-

deen, Kinmuck, and also Kingswells; in which last place, he was made instrumental in the Lord's hand, in bringing forth Andrew Jaffray's eldest daughter, in a public testimony. Afterward, in a meeting at Jane Somervill's at Aberdeen, he was under a great exercise, and said, He felt the Life stopped in some there, and could not get forward, until the Seed was at liberty; after which, he was again brought forth in a living testimony, to the refreshment of all the meeting.

"When he came to Ury, which was on the 3d day of the week, (Andrew Jaffray, David Wallace, and Robert Gerard accompanying him from Aberdeen,) he had a meeting there on 4th day. From thence, he went to Stonehaven on 5th day, being accompanied by most of them of Ury; and there he and Andrew Jaffray had, each of them, a good opportunity among the people that came into the meeting. From thence, we came that night to Springhall, [a house on the estate of Ury;] and had there a good meeting; only he said, He felt the Life stopped in some there, who would not give up to the Lord's requirings. The same night, after supper, he had a blessed opportunity with Robert Barclay, David, and Patience Barclay, John Gillie, David Wallace, and Robert Gerard; where we were all so mightily overcome, that we were made to cry out; and Robert Barclay, [aged 22 years,] was opened in a few living words of exhortation to the young generation there present, which reached and melted our hearts in a wonderful manner. He said, It was himself, who had occasioned the Life to be stopped in the foregoing meeting, by not giving up to the Lord's requirings; and so, he concluded in a few living words of prayer. After this, they retired to rest. Robert Barclay and Robert Gerard had a remarkable comfortable night, neither of them minding sleep much. Next day, which was 6th day, we had a blessed meeting among the children; where

Christian Barclay the younger, [aged 14 years,] had her mouth opened in prayer, to the refreshment of all. That same day, we had a more general meeting at Ury; where Friends at Stonehaven, and those also about Ury attended.

"On the 7th day, we had another blessed morning meeting among the children; and the 1st day of the week following, we had a good meeting, about the middle of the day, where there was more people than usual; and Robert Barclay bore a living testimony among them. Life so went along with him in it that it reached the hearts of many of them, and astonished others; his testimony being much to this purpose:—That the Lord had given them line upon line, and precept upon precept, one visitation after another, to the reaching of many of them; exhorting them to take up the cross and despise the shame, and so become fools for Christ's sake; that thus, they might think nothing too dear or near to them, in comparison with Him. And further he told them, he believed it would be the last visitation of the Lord to some of them; and advised them to turn in time, before it was over: for the Lord had now raised up the third generation to bear a testimony for his Truth among them in that place. In that meeting, was also his aunt Jane Molleson's mouth opened in a few words of testimony. That same night, we had a blessed meeting at Springhall; where David, [aged 12 years,] Catherine, [aged 16 years,] and Christian Barclay the younger bore, each of them, a testimony to the Truth: yet, notwithstanding all this, our Friend, Peter Gardiner, could not obtain ease, but felt the Life stopped in one there, and at last named the person, and desired him to clear himself; and so John Chalmers, their schoolmaster, [aged about 19 years; afterward an acceptable minister in Dublin,] stood up, and said a few words by way of testimony. Then Peter ended the meeting in prayer, and came away easy. That same night, we had a good little

meeting together in the school-room. Next morning, he had his farewell meeting at Ury: and so he, together with Robert and David Barclay, took his journey. But as we were parting at the end of the garden, Robert Barclay had some living words, by way of testimony, to those who accompanied us there.

"We came to Montrose that night; where, after we had rested awhile, we had a little meeting. Next morning we had a meeting among ourselves. About the middle of the day, we had a meeting of all the Friends of the town; and some other people came in: both Peter and Robert Barclay preached on that occasion. We had also another meeting that night, where Peter fully relieved his mind. Robert and David Barclay both declared the Truth among them, also John Gellie had some words of prayer. The substance of the testimonies borne in that meeting, were much to this purpose:—That none should sit down in Zion at their ease, but that they should travail for the prosperity of the Truth in themselves and others; and that none should love the world or the things of it too much, nor be covered with any other covering than the Spirit of Truth; and that a profession of the Truth would not do, till persons came to the life, and possession of it. Next morning, we had a blessed farewell meeting; and so parted from each other in much tenderness of heart. Peter Gardiner, David Wallace, and their companion went towards Edinburgh.

"After they were gone, Robert and David Barclay, John Gellie, and Robert Gerard, had a precious meeting together, where Robert Bettie and his wife were present. They retured to Ury that night, a little after nine o'clock. Next day, we had a blessed meeting among the children. The day following, being the 25th of the same month, we had a glorious meeting, where Patience Barclay, [aged 19 years,] was opened, both in testimony and in prayer, to the refreshing of all our hearts. We held another good meeting among the children, the day after; where

James Forbes, being then at Ury, had some words of testimony.

"And so, the Lord God, as he hath begun a good work, will carry it on, if we be but faithful to him, over all that the enemy or his instruments can do to hinder it. Oh! that we may think nothing too dear to part with, for Him; but that we may give up all freely for Him, if He please to make use of any of us as instruments in His hand;—and that our eye may be unto Him, and so abide faithful unto the end: which will be of more value than all the perishing pleasures and transitory enjoyments of this world."

The foregoing account carries with it every appearance of having been drawn up by one of the parties in these memorable opportunities, most probably Andrew Jaffray; but on this point, as it seems not easy to be determined, there is no further occasion to dwell. With regard to the application of these facts to our own day, and to individual experience, it may truly be said, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Do we not see, in them, the accomplishment of one of the most prominent among the standing miracles foreordained respecting these gospel times?—"And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy:——and on my servants and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy." Acts, ii. 17, 18. And again, another ancient language, which has equal reference to more modern periods:—"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, thou hast perfected praise." Matt. xxi. 16. It is hoped, however, that none will be inclined, in perusing the above statements, to cast these things from them; taking up the cheerless and unedifying conclusion, that these "marvellous things" do not concern them. For assuredly, "Those things which are revealed, belong unto us and unto our children." The example of such as have

listened, and heard, and answered the call of the Lord, to give up their hearts to his disposal and direction, that He may work in or by them, altogether according to his own good pleasure,—most certainly, these examples speak forth the inviting language, Follow us, as we have followed Christ: they form one link in that chain of evidence, in mercy continued down, even to us of the present age, through the long line of patriarchs, prophets, and believers of every degree—that God is most favourably inclined, to draw near and to dwell with all who diligently seek Him,—that he will richly reward them, even in this life, with the lifting up of the light of his countenance,—that he will dignify all who trust in and obey him, with the manifestations of his love and power, and even make them, in one way or another, instruments of his glory for the good of souls.

Peter Gardiner, proceeding on his journey through the other meetings of Friends in Scotland, on his way homeward, arrived at Carlisle: from this place, as it is supposed, he wrote the ensuing epistle, but a very short time before he was taken with his last illness. It affords some clear indications of a sound and living faith, an unsophisticated simplicity of love, a heavenly meekness and gratitude, which were now fast ripening for a better state.

"It is thought fit," observe the Friends of Aberdeen, "here to insert our dear Friend and Brother Peter Gardiner's last salutation of love to this meeting, by way of epistle, a little before he laid down the body; it having pleased the Lord to remove him a little after, by the small pox, at Carlisle, as he was returning homeward, about the ——— of ——— 1695:—which paper follows—he having been so notable an instrument hereaway.

"'This is the tender salutation of my love to Friends in general belonging to Aberdeen.

"'My dear and loving Friends, which are near and dear to me in the everlasting Truth of my God!

"'In the eternal love of God, with which our souls have been refreshed together—in this love, doth my soul dearly salute you all; hoping these few lines may find you all in good health, as, (glory to my God!) I am at this time;—and I have had a prosperous journey—glory be to the eternal God! Though my inward exercises have been very great, yet, this is matter of great joy, that the work of my God is going on. For the Lord is pouring out of his Spirit in a glorious manner, in the west of Scotland:—there are three come forth in a [public] testimony, to the great refreshment of the souls of many. Therefore, dear Friends, let us labour together in the work of our God.

"'And I beseech you all, in the eternal love of God,—which I do at this time feel to spring towards you,—do not despise the day of small things; for whosoever despiseth the day of small things in themselves or others, a withering day will certainly come upon them. Therefore, dear Friends, cry mightily unto the Lord on the behalf of your children; for I do believe, that the Lord will pour out his Spirit upon them, and make them very glorious, as they give up in obedience unto him:—for I feel the love of God very large, towards you and your children. And I was glad to hear of the sweet stream of Life, which I heard ran among you since I came away.

"'So, dear Friends, in a fresh stream of Life, doth my soul dearly salute you all, desiring the continuance of your prayers for me: so, I remain your Friend and Brother in the Lord,

"'PETER GARDINER.'

"Note. There is an account in writing, in Andrew Jaffray's hand, to be laid up among Friends' Records, of some remarkable services of the said Peter Gardiner, especially in this country."

The only remaining memorial which has come to hand, respecting this faithful follower of a self-denying and crucified Redeemer, is that conveyed in a Letter

from John Bowstead, a Friend of Carlisle, to Francis Stamper of London. Having left all, to follow Christ and his leadings in the service of his church and gospel, so far as he believed to be required of him,—and having laboured and travelled diligently in that particular district, the spiritual welfare of which, we have been engaged in contemplating; he is at length about to put in force, by patient resignation unto death, that injunction of the Apostle, "We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." John, iii. 16.

"Aglionby, 12th of 3rd month, 1695.

"Dear Friend, Francis Stamper,

"By these thou mayst understand, that I received thine from London the 30th of 1st month, and it is now before me; and thy request therein I hereby answer in the following lines.

"Our dear Friend, Peter Gardiner, made a very sweet and heavenly end, to the general satisfaction of all present; for the Spirit and power of God was with him: and, at divers times in his sickness, he spake many seasonable and weighty words; of which I take some, as follows.—On the 5th day before he departed this life, I was sent for by some Friends of the city of Carlisle; and when I came into the room where he lay sick, I asked him how it was with him? He said, 'Ah, John! I am sick in body, but the Lord reigns gloriously in Zion: his power is over all his enemies.' And, often using the word John, as I sat by him, he said, 'Ah, John! there is a terrible day approaching this nation, the weight of which bowed my spirit as I came along—I saw it before I left the kingdom of Scotland—Oh! it bowed me, it was even like death unto me.' So [he] lay still a little time, and I asked, how it was with him?—for I felt him under an exercise of spirit;—and I asked him, if he would have me write his will? 'Yea;' said he, 'and what thou doest, do quickly.' So I wrote it, and read it to him, and it satisfied him much. Then, sitting in silence a

little while, I was moved of the Lord to prayer: after me, Peter Gardiner prayed very powerfully,—That the Lord would preserve his people together in unity, and would spare and overshadow them with the wing of his power, until the storm be passed over;—or words to that purpose. And, the power of the Lord being over all, I think all that were in the room, were melted and broken into tenderness; and some that were falling back from the Truth, being present, were also tendered and made to confess that the Lord was with him,—and indeed, so He was. So, lying quietly for a little while, there came into the room, one that was not a Friend, but under convictions in his heart; Peter Gardiner asked me, [as I sat] upon the bedside by him, Who that was, that came into the room? There being many, and most [of them] Friends, I said, 'This is a Friend.' 'Ah!' said he, 'it is no Friend; is it not such a one?' so called him near,—and it was so. Peter Gardiner was so full of the small-pox, that he could not see at that time. He then spoke to the young man, and said, 'Thou hast no peace in thy lying down, nor in thy uprising; therefore, I charge and warn thee in the name of the Lord my God, that thou speedily return, and draw near unto the Lord, whilst thou hast a day afforded thee. For, now is the day of thy visitation; and the Lord is still striving with thee; and if thou dost not return, thou wilt repent, when time will be too late with thee. I tell thee, thou wouldst be heir of two kingdoms, but will never obtain them both:'—with many other weighty words to particular Friends, which would be too tedious here to mention.

"A copy of his last words to Friends in his own country and elsewhere, I here send thee, as follows.

"'Dear Friends,

"'Inasmuch as it has been my lot to be concerned in the service of Truth, and to have a portion amongst the people of God, I can bless his name, that He hath

thought me worthy to have a name amongst them that are living; for I have sweet peace with Him, that is the Redeemer of Israel, and am now waiting for my Pilot to conduct me to my long home.'

"To his wife, thus:

"'My dear Wife,

"'In the fresh springs of Life that flow forth from my Father's presence, do I dearly salute thee, and our dear children, and Friends, with desires in my heart, that grace, mercy, and peace, may dwell plentifully in and amongst you, unto your lives' end! Farewell!

"'PETER GARDINER.'

"He had but three meetings in this county, after he left Scotland; and in them, he hinted of five judgments approaching this nation; as, fire, sword, famine, pestilence, and a dreadful earthquake; if timely repentance doth not turn away the wrath and displeasure of the Lord.

"This, at present, with my love to thyself and Friends.

"I rest thy Friend,

"JOHN BOWSTEAD.'

The Author of these Memoirs had not intended making either note or comment on any part of the above communication. But the nature of the last paragraph of it, conveying a direct prophetic enunciation, is such as might, in some minds, materially weaken the profitable impressions raised by what has gone before. He is therefore induced to observe,—that, without question, there dwells at times upon pious, exercised souls, such a deep sense of the extensive revolt and ingratitude of man towards the Giver of all good, as even well nigh to overwhelm! Some of these, wondering at the mercy and forbearance lengthened out to a guilty generation, have been also led to entertain doubts, whether the cup of Divine indignation has not, in their day, been full, and is not ready to be poured out in those channels of righteous

retribution, which, the Scriptures of truth assure us, are in the prerogative of an Almighty Creator.

In a small volume, entitled "Memoirs of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity in the University of St. Andrews," published at Glasgow, 1830, there is a passage, occurring in the death-bed experience of this individual, by no means dissimilar to the foregoing. He died in 1712, about twenty-two years after Peter Gardiner.—Upon one saying to him, "I thought, Sir, you was expressing your fears respecting the times," he answered, "Yes, indeed; I am no prophet, I am not positive on the head; but I greatly fear a heavy stroke is coming on this land, I fear the plague of God is coming on Scotland." One said, "The pestilence, Sir, do you mean?" He replied, "Yes, indeed, and a bloody sword also. Nay, it is what I feared these several years, and I abide by it, I am of the same mind still; and I do not see what way it is avoidable without a miracle; and a miracle I do not expect:—but seek to be established in the Truth. These are like to be trying times." p. 365.

CHAPTER XVII.

1680 to 1700: the Christian concern and care of Friends, during this period, with regard to the education of their children, and the administration of Church government, &c.—Visits of Robert Barrow and John Grattan—1697: Andrew Jaffray and Robert Barclay, Junior, travel to the Highlands—Death of Lilias Skene and Patrick Livingston.

The comforts and advantages that attach to the liberty of serving God according to conscience, were now, as regards this Christian community, in full operation. The present chapter will be opened with some agreeable symptoms that have been collected, of their state and progress under these circumstances: showing, during a considerable space of time, what

use they made of the clemency and toleration extended towards them.

In the year 1681, the little cluster of Friends in this northern region, insulated in great degree, as they then felt themselves to be, and cut off from the privileges of communication with more populous districts of their fellow-professors, concluded to establish two schools, one at Aberdeen and the other at Kinmuck, for the benefit of their children. On this subject, there is ample proof of the continuance of their enlightened and weighty concern. In the epistles issued by their collective assemblies, they hold out, in a manner very fit for a Christian society to do, the primary importance of training up children in the fear, nurture, and admonition of the Lord; "that they may, through the blessing from above, come to have an inheritance and portion in the heritage of Jacob." They frequently urge, their being early made acquainted with what the Lord had done for this people, in separating them for Himself out of all other kindreds of the earth; and that, in the liberty and fear of God, the nature of that spiritual standard which they are called upon to uphold, should be explicitly conveyed to the tender mind. They also advert to the pernicious example and fellowship of ungodly children, and the great advantage of having their youth sheltered under the care of such Friends, as, being in the Truth themselves, would not suffer them to "be corrupted from the simplicity" of it, either by heathenish books, or other unsound sentiments. This exercise on behalf of the children of their members, in a particular manner rested on the mind of Christian Barclay; herself the parent of a large and interesting family, and "a mother in Israel." She addressed several epistles to her Friends, stimulating those who stood in this responsible station, to a steadfast zeal for the best welfare of their families; desiring they might feel themselves far more strongly bound to provide, so far as in them lay, for the sustenance of these in a spiritual,

than in an outward sense. "Because," she remarks, "we have felt the virtuous Power of God, which hath visited us in our hearts, to be to our souls the Bread of life." Therefore, (she intimates,) should we rest at ease, while our children are feeding on the barren spirit of this world, without breathing to the Lord for their soul's provision, we are much below the very infidels. She expresses the belief, that the Lord is near, and ready by his power to help the upright-hearted, in answering his righteous will in these important respects; and that we, of all people, are left without excuse, since He has given us to know the fountain of strength and goodness in ourselves, so that we need never be at a loss, if we are but rightly retired to the gift of God, and submit ourselves to his holy ordering.—Her "well-accomplished" mind was, in the like earnest manner, directed towards those in the relation of master and servant, as well as towards her poor neighbours.

On the subject of a wholesome administration of church government, the origin and nature of which, has been somewhat explained in a previous chapter of this history, we find that, early in the year 1680, so soon as the long interruption occasioned by persecution would permit, they quickly resumed their former practice, of meeting monthly or oftener for the regulation of such affairs.

Towards the close of the year 1690, they received a letter from George Fox, just before his own removal by death; recommending to them, in common with the Society at large, a design so fraught with extensive and permanent benefit, that it may be called a legacy of no common value. It was his wish, they should separate certain of their number whom they approved, to have upon them the express charge of corresponding with Friends in London on the state and welfare of their brethren; that thus, in this corner of the camp, as well as elsewhere, they might be reciprocally cheered, as George Fox expresses himself, by

a continual report of the prosperity of the church, and the spreading of the Truth in all parts of the world; while they would be in the way of receiving that sympathy and help, in cases of difficulty or distress, which the Friends of London, from their central position and other circumstances, were especially qualified to render. A further purpose, which he had in view by this excellent systematic connexion, was the circulation of books, tracts, and epistles, which might serve either to edify their own members, or to inform others. The sound wisdom and excellent feeling, which first prompted these arrangements, are indisputable; the advantages, also, resulting from them, have been very great, even to the present day; but we are scarcely competent to say, what might be the effect of these measures, were they carried to the full extent, which the projector seemed to have in view.

In the year 1693, another commendable practice was concluded to be adopted by the Friends at Aberdeen,—a practice then prevalent, as they state, both in Ireland and in many parts of England—that two weighty Friends in the meeting should be appointed from one quarter to another, to have more especially upon them the care and oversight of their members. They were to visit them in their families, and to give them advice, in meekness, wisdom, and love, as they might see needful. With regard to the minutiæ and the routine of these things, it is obvious, that circumstances will occasion variation of practice, in different ages and in different places; but the savour and intent of them will ever be uniformly the same. And in proportion as the gathered churches, that profess faith in Christ Jesus, more purely come into the Spirit of their holy and blessed Head, the management of their affairs of this description will become more simple, more efficient,—tending to the honour of God, the preservation, the restoration, and the growth one of another in spiritual things, as well as

to the admiration of those that are not of the same "fold."

A further instance of the zest with which those of this generation pursued the imperishable things that pertain to life, and peace, and godly edifying, is that of their weekly family meetings at each other's houses in rotation; which they justly notice, as resembling the practice of the primitive Christians, and as affording a spiritual "repast" to such as wish to feed at the Lord's table.—Not that these faithful watchmen had no causes of anxiety and grief, as to some of those towards whom they yearned, and for whose welfare the breathing of their spirits went daily up to the Father of mercies. There were such causes—and amongst these, is specified a degree of slackness in coming up to the help of the Lord, by presenting themselves with their brethren before him in some of their solemn feasts. Yet, certainly, on the whole, the observations made by one upon the state of this Society in another land, at about the same period, may be said to apply with equal truth to Scotland: "In those days, the meetings of Friends were more eminently favoured with Divine power, as they lived more devoted to Christ, and consequently more abounding with his love flowing in their hearts. Those happy men and women left the Lord's vineyard, (through their faithful labours, with the Divine blessing upon them,) well fenced and clean, (having gathered out the the stones thereof,) and abounding with the excellent fruits of the Holy Spirit of Christ." James Gough's Life.

Many were the gospel embassies which this people were favoured with, about this period, from messengers in the Lord's service; the number of those who came from England, and were at Aberdeen, being noticed as amounting to twenty-one, in the space of four months. Among such, appear the names of Robert Barrow in the year 1691, and John Gratton about three years after. Both of them were much

exercised on behalf of their brethren; they were especially desirous that the rules and plans of church discipline prevailing in their own country, might be steadily maintained here also in all its branches; and from the pen of each was an address prepared, with a view to provoke to love and to good works. The former of these individuals, after adverting very particularly to methods of good order, says, "So, seeing here is preaching enough, and you know enough, it is greatly needful to practise and perform religious duties, and to bring forth fruits of righteousness, to the praise of the good Husbandman. For preaching is but an information, to reach the witness, or stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance, being as the suburbs of religion; but life and practice, in a performance of doing God's will on earth,—the seed being raised that delights therein,—this is the substance, even the very essence and marrow of the matter; in the enjoyment of which, [both] male and female come to have the seal of the Spirit, that we are his people, and concerned in our day for God's glory."

In a letter from this Friend, Robert Barrow, addressed to George Whitehead and Stephen Crisp, dated the 15th of 11th month, 1691–2, from Kingswells near Aberdeen, the estate of the Jaffray family, he speaks of his visits to these parts in the following terms:—"Blessed be the Lord, I find things generally well, in unity and good order, which makes Friends' travel both easy and comfortable. And about Aberdeen and somewhat northward of it, there is a fine openness, divers of late convinced, and hopeful to continue; and many inclinable and willing to hear, and the name of an Englishman is famous among them. And though I be but a weak instrument, and having no fellow-traveller nor outward companion; yet, blessed be the Lord, I have had a very comfortable journey, as my heart could desire. And though it be the winter season and shortest days, that I have

sometimes travelled before day, and after day hath been gone, yet the Lord hath given me health in all weathers, both wet and dry."——"Postcript. Dear George Whitehead, this youth, that comes to be apprentice to J. Danson, is come of good parents; his father's name is Andrew Jaffray—may be, thou hast heard of him—he is the most noted man among Friends, both in testimony, and in a church care and government, in the affairs thereof. So, after thou be acquainted with the boy, I could wish thee to take a little oversight of him; and see that J. and his wife be tender to him. I hope the lad may be deserving,—so do it for his parent's sake."—Colchester Monthly Meeting Collection of Manuscript Correspondence.

A short account has been preserved of a journey, performed in the work of the ministry by Andrew Jaffray, Robert Barclay, David Wallace, and Alexander Spark, as far north as Inverness, and westward among the Highlands, where no Friends had before that time travelled. It is as follows:

"Robert Barclay, David Wallace, Alexander Spark, and Andrew Jaffray, took journey from Aberdeen, in the love of God and unity of the Friends of Truth, upon the 17th of 6th month, called August, 1697. We tarried some time by the way at Inverness, where A. Jaffray had some good service among Friends. Rode that night to Adamstoun, two miles from Strathbogie, twenty-two miles, where we had a very kind reception in a discreet house; the landlord of which being very sick, A. Jaffray felt it with him to speak to and pray for him. Next day, the 18th, at Fochabers, where we dined, A. Jaffray declared Truth among the people at the market-place; and in our quarters, we had good service with one Calder, a noted priest, and one Dr. Steinson. Rode that night to Elgin, where A. Jaffray was concerned to preach in the street, and had a peaceable time among the people at the cross about the 7th hour; though, at our first coming into that town, hardly any would receive

us: we travelled that day twenty miles. Next day, the 19th, in our journey to Inverness, we breakfasted by the way at Forres, eight miles, at one Alexander Stewart's, whose wife was a very serious, discreet woman: with them we left some books. Dined at Nairn, eight miles, at one John Dollar's; whose wife, in his absence from home, promised to give up their house for a meeting on our return. We there called upon Daniel Monro's sister, and had some service in that family; and so rode on to Inverness that evening, in all twenty-eight miles.

"Next day, the 20th, rode up through Strath Erick, having furnished ourselves with a guide and victuals, and came that night to a place called Killwheimmy, at the head of Loch Ness; lodging at one Miles Macdonald's, where we had a good little evening meeting. The master of the house, though a Papist, was made to confess, after the meeting, to the Truth declared. That day we rode twenty-four miles. On the next, we went to Lochiel's house, with great difficulty, up the sides of Loch Oich and Loch Lochy, eighteen miles. This seat is called Auchnacarry, near Loch Arkieg. There we remained next day, being 1st day, and had a very good meeting among several people that understood English, and some other good services. On the 24th, A. Jaffray and D. Wallace rode down to the garrison at Inverlochy; where, the next morning, we had a notable opportunity with Colonel Hill, who received A. Jaffray's message very soberly and discreetly, acknowledging the truth of his testimony, which was to this purport: That there are greater enemies to be subdued within, than all outward rebels and enemies, even the passions and lusts of our own hearts; from which enemies of a man's own house, come all outward wars, insurrections, rebellions, and disorders. These inward enemies can only be subdued, quelled, and overcome, by following the conduct of Christ, the inward captain, by his Light and Spirit; not by might, nor by outward

power, but by his grace, which hath appeared unto all men, and teaches or enables all who obey it, to deny and subdue all ungodliness and worldly lusts, as well as to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. And this victory over one's self by the Christian weapons, is a greater conquest than the subduing of all countries, according to that ancient distich,

> 'He that commands himself is more a prince
> Than he who nations keeps in awe;
> And they who yield to that their soul's convince
> Shall never need another law.' [See *Appendix*, DD.]

"To this inward principle of Divine grace he was directed; and he confessed thereto very lovingly. Afterward, A. Jaffray had a notable opportunity with the priest of the garrison, in the presence of a great company of the soldiers. So, being clear, D. Wallace and he rode back that afternoon to Lochiel's house at Auchnacarry; this being the furthest point of our journey, one hundred and twenty-two miles.

"We staid the 26th, there being a very great rain, and had a very good meeting; at which, Lochiel the elder and younger were present, and several people that understood English, who were very evidently reached; and we sensibly felt the love and openness of Lochiel's family, more after the meeting than before. [See *Appendix*, EE.] Next morning, the 27th, we came away in tender love, Lochiel the younger conveying us eight or ten miles on our way; and we were wonderfully preserved that evening, in a great danger, in passing through a water, called Ballaloyn, which was greatly inundated, and which we were obliged to get over, or else lose our service at Inverness next 1st day. That night, we lay at a very mean house on the water-side, and could scarce get any roof to be under. On the 28th, we all four came safely to Inverness with our guide, having been preserved through several dangers—blessed be the Lord our

God! We took up our quarters in the Castle Street, at our former lodging at one Isabel Cowie's, a discreet woman; where, that evening, we had an excellent opportunity with three townsmen of the place, who came on purpose to pay us a visit and to confer with us, viz. Robert Cuming of Relugas, a very sharp, discreet, pertinent man; George Duncan, a modest Presbyterian; and one Falconer, an Episcopalian. The principles of Truth were fully opened to them, in some of the deepest points; particularly as the first motive of credibility, and ultimate judge of controversy; and Robert Cuming most ingenuously conceded to our openings thereupon, when his understanding and the witness for God was reached. Also, with regard to the possibility of falling from true grace, Friends were fully vindicated from a gross slander, which George Duncan told us was laid upon us, namely, That we boasted of our own strength and abilities to keep God's commandments; wherein we gave him and the company abundant satisfaction. It was, indeed, a blessed opportunity; and the Lord was most preciously present with R. Barclay and A. Jaffray, who only were concerned with them at that season:—blessed be his faithful name for ever!

"The next day, being the 1st day of the week, we had a very precious little meeting among ourselves, about the 10th hour, where we were sweetly comforted together in the feeling of the heart-breaking love of our God. A. Jaffray having signified, that it lay upon him as a duty, to speak to the people when they should come out from their forenoon worship; we went all four together, in the unity of the Spirit, to the end of the street where their worship-house stands. And having attended, and walked to and again, till the throng of the people came forth, both from the English and Erse houses—for, in one of them, they preach to the country people in Erse, though many of them also understood English—a living, open testimony was borne there to the true wor-

ship of God, the spirituality of it, the way and manner of it; also the nearness of the Spirit of Christ to people, as an inward principle, and how to know the same from all other spirits not of God; that so therein they might worship the Father in the one true and living way. The people stood exceedingly attentive and sober, both great and small, there being a very great crowd, and no disturbance in the least was made; after which, we walked peaceably up the street to our quarters. We had intimated to the people, at the end of the public testimony, that it was our intention in the Lord's will, to have a meeting at our quarters, that afternoon about the 4th hour, after the dissolution of their public worship. At the hour appointed, our landlady having very willingly yielded to let us have the use of her house for that end, we had a very full and large meeting. Not only the large room wherein it was, but the next room, chambers above, and the stairs, being all crowded with people; who were exceedingly sober and serious all the time. And the Lord's power and blessed presence, as a fountain suitable to the occasion, was largely set forth for his own work:—blessed be his holy name for ever! That night, A. Jaffray went to visit the old Bishop of Murray, called Hay, who was sore diseased in his body by a palsy. The following day, finding ourselves clear, and having dispersed several books, we set forward on our journey homewards. We were at John Dollar's at Nairn, where the woman had promised us the use of her house for a meeting. Accordingly, her husband being then returned, gave it up freely; and we had a most precious season among a great many people, who, upon the very first intimation of a meeting, filled the room, stairs, and streets; where there was a wonderful breaking in of the tender, melting, opening life and love of God, as if they had been all settled Friends. Indeed, such a season of life and glory, among a people not gathered into the Truth, none of us did ever see! Surely, the Lord hath a

great seed to gather in that place and thereaway: O that it may be often visited, watered, and prepared for a harvest, and brought into his garners!

"After this blessed season, we rode that night to Elgin to William Douglas's, our former lodging, being twenty-eight miles in all; then to Edomstoun, where our former discreet landlady fell a blessing the Lord, who had sent His servants to her house; having declared, that, after A. Jaffray had prayed for her husband, when we were there before, he had daily recovered from that time. The next day, we came safely to Aberdeen, being the day before the Monthly Meeting, being a journey of two hundred and forty-four miles."

This year, as the records of the Meeting testify, "Upon the 21st of the 4th month, 1697, it pleased the Lord our God, to bring to the sweet harbour of his everlasting rest, a long-tossed vessel upon the waves of many afflictions, namely, Lilias Skene, [whose maiden name was] Gillespie, the widow of Alexander Skene, some time bailie, of Newtyle. [She was] a woman of a serious life from her childhood, attended with much sickness of body and exercise of mind—[also] afflictions of many sorts. Among the professors, she was one of the most eminent; [but] was brought out from them, by a strong hand, into the precious Truth, about the year 1667; in which she lived about thirty years, in a true measure of honesty, though attended with deep temptations and tribulations; and died in the 71st year of her age. Her body was buried on the 24th at Kingswells, beside that of her husband, [who died in 1693.]"

But it pleased the Lord, about three years before, to remove from works to rewards another of these worthies—Patrick Livingston, at about the age of 60 years—one of the most laborious instruments whom he had seen meet to make use of, in this district, at the first springing up of such a people.

Although the scene of his last days was the neigh-

bourhood of London; yet, as he spent the morning and the prime of his time, in the defence and propagation of the gospel, among his fellow-countrymen in this part of Scotland, it will be proper to subjoin some further information respecting him, in addition to that which has gone before; showing that the standard of Truth, which he had been called upon to display, was only laid down with his life. He travelled, in the exercise of his gift as a minister, in many parts of England and Ireland, and to most places in his native country. In the year 1669, in company with James Halliday, he visited the Orkney Islands; in which journey, it is said, they had good service, and several remarkable circumstances occurred, which were not committed to writing; particularly at the Synod in Elgin, Murrayshire, at Kirkwell in Orkney, and in the Isle of Stroma. Besides his long detention in the gaol of Aberdeen, he had to bear a testimony to the Truth, by imprisonment in Newgate, London, for a considerable time, about the year 1684. The condition of the prisoners at the latter place, is briefly set forth in the petition, addressed by Friends to King James the 2nd and his Parliament, soon after his accession to the throne.—"And here in London," say they, "the gaol of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within these two years, sometimes near twenty in a room, to the prejudice of their health; and several poor innocent tradesmen have of late been so suffocated by the closeness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after."—In his latter years, Patrick Livingston left Nottingham, where he had resided, and came with his family to London; there, he continued a diligent labourer in the Lord's vineyard, several times visiting his friends in Scotland, especially in 1693, the year before his death. Respecting this engagement they declare, that, of all the times he had been among them, his ministry was attended, throughout his visit, with the largest and most plentiful mea-

sure of the Lord's blessed power they had witnessed, he being wonderfully borne up though very weak in body; so that they term it, "his endeared farewell to his spiritual kindred."

After his return home, he grew weaker, until he departed this life, on the 15th of the 4th month, 1694, at the house of John Kirton, Kensington, near London, where he had been removed for the benefit of the air. Several Friends were present with him in his last hours, during which time these heavenly expressions flowed from him. The day before his departure, he said, "I am in unity with all faithful Friends, and in love to all men." About an hour previous to his close, he cried, "O Father! O Father!" A little while after, mentioning his weakness of body, as if he desired more strength to utter what was on his mind, and this being then apparently granted to him, he said, "Let Life reach unto all here;" and pulling off his nightcap with his own hand, about half an hour ere he was removed hence, he said, "Blessed, praised, magnified, and exalted, be the mighty, powerful, great, and everlasting name of the Lord God, for evermore! —Oh! that thy Life may arise in full dominion over all, and that Friends may feel it so, in all their assemblies; —that they may be kept in love, concord, and unity together, and show it forth in word, work, testimony, life and conversation unto all!"—adding, "Life being over all, here we have all we need, and here there is a lying down in true submission to the will of the Lord; and laying down our heads in peace and rest with Him for evermore, for evermore!" Then said, "Here is victory over death, hell, and the grave, and resting in peace with the Lord for evermore." See *Appendix*, FF.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1699: Visit and Epistle of Samuel Watson to Friends in Scotland—1723: Memoirs of Alexander Seaton, Robert Scott, and David Wallace; also some account of Christian Barclay and her family.

The preceding chapter has carried forward to the close of the 17th century, these memorials of the faithfulness of a covenant-keeping God towards a little remnant, who had made a covenant with him by sacrifice. They had embraced that law in the inward parts, to which the Prophet Jeremiah, when describing the new covenant dispensation, makes allusion,—"the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," who remains the blessed Mediator of it. While a people thus separated unto God, abide true to him, while their heart is right in his sight, while they continue steadfast in his covenant of light and life, how excellent is their heritage, how desirable their portion! and how fully does it come up to that prediction of the evangelical messenger of the Lord concerning these times, when "the Spirit," being "poured upon us from on high," "My people," saith he, "shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places." Isai. xxxii. 15, 18.

That this was in good degree the experience of the Friends in Scotland, up to the time of the opening of another century, may be somewhat seen by the tenor of an epistle, in gospel love addressed to them by Samuel Watson, an able and weighty minister, whose residence was in England. He had then recently, in his old age, paid them a second general visit through their meetings; and was on his way home. Having, as he intimates, at a very early period,—and probably before there were any Friends at Aberdeen or its neighbourhood,—witnessed the first breaking forth of that heavenly faith and zeal, which was remarkable among the precursors of this people; he was well quali-

fied, sensibly to perceive any departure from the purity and strength of primitive days.

SAMUEL WATSON TO FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND.

"Hamilton, 29th of 5th month, 1699.

"My dear Friends in Scotland!

"The Lord of the whole earth hath drawn me, out of my own country, to visit you in the ancient Truth, having been formerly in this nation about forty years ago,—a time of hazarding my life for the elect's sake, when little appearance of that heavenly life was brought forth, which now is made manifest, and shines over the cloudy day. Many are now brought into the fold, where the true Bishop and Shepherd of their souls is teaching them; and they know a feeding in the green pastures of divine love, and a sitting down where none shall make them afraid—living praises to our God, who hath wrought this great and marvellous work for a remnant! And this I do witness in my travel, in the several parts of this nation; wherein I have been comforted in the sweet appearances of divine life, and the overflowings of heavenly love have run forth as a glorious stream, to the watering God's heritage; and the plants of renown spring up together, and are more and more strengthened to bring forth fruit to the honour and renown of Him, who not only plants but gives an increase.

"O you tender-hearted ones, and honourable! who spring from the royal seed, where is no mixture of wickedness,—you are as marrow to my bones, and so near to my life, that I am made to rejoice in the feeling of this great work of salvation, which God hath wrought among you. O keep in the tents of holiness, and to the Rock of your salvation! and then, (it is the word of the Lord to you,) no tempest or storm, which may come for the trial of your faith, shall remove you; but ye shall be built upon Mount Zion, which cannot be removed. Let the weak be

assisted and strengthened by your gentle and tender care over them; let them never be discouraged by your neglect, or by a want of godly care to help them, even the very hindermost of the flock; for over these, the enemy seeks to get advantage, and Amalek like, to destroy them. But the camp of the Lord is full of love and of power, and the shout of a king is among them; and the Captain of our salvation is with us, and He teacheth us to make war in righteousness, and He it is that will overcome all our enemies; everlasting praises be to Him, and that for evermore, amen!

"And further, I declare it unto you, as it appears unto me—O let your hearts be tender in the love of God—This visiting again of your nation, did often stir in me as a fire in my bosom, which could not be quenched; being of the nature of that love, which, it is said, "many waters cannot quench, neither can the floods drown,"—(for if it could, I had many reasonings to stop it)—but divine love is of that force, that it prevails over all, and possesses the kingdom. In which love, I was prevailed with, to come and visit you who are gathered of the Lord, and who feel divine refreshing, as well as those who are not yet gathered among the lost sheep of Israel;—that they may come and feel the touches of His love, who would not the death of any, but that all might come to Him, who is the Life, and gives life unto the saints. And for no other end was I drawn to visit this nation, together with these two striplings who are with me, the one being my own daughter, and the other an innocent Friend [Janet Stow;] both of them being my spiritual relations. And the Lord's power hath gone along with us, according to our upright intention; we not coming in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence and demonstration of the Spirit of God; that the holy witness might be reached in all, and that life might spring in all, that death and dead works might be reigned over in every individual, and life and immortality might be brought to light through the

gospel, of which He hath made a remnant publishers, to his praise and glory for ever! And the good effects of the love of God, we have felt, in the places where we have been travelling; and we can now return to our own nation with sheaves of joy in our bosom, and give good tidings to our friends, that the Lord's power and presence is with you, and his mighty and glorious work of redemption and sanctification is going on. And we have been truly comforted in a remnant, who are valiant for the Truth upon earth, and find nothing too dear to part with, for the honour of his name and that blessed Truth, of which they are made living partakers; so that, with one spirit and one consent, we can praise and magnify His power, which hath called us unto this great work of his gospel.

"And finally, my Friends, brethren and sisters in the fellowship of the gospel, considering the great care and pains the Lord hath taken with us, to make us polished stones for the building of his church; how great is the need we daily have, to keep in the feeling of his power, as members of his body; every one doing some work and service for him. Our God hath mightily wrought for the establishing of his people in an excellent order, and he hath raised up many, out of the graves of sin and dead formality, to meet together in his name; so that now, we have particular meetings, both Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly.

"Now, dear Friends, though you know these things, I would stir you up by way of remembrance: as it was in the days of Moses, it should be now with us, who are under the government and teaching of our spiritual Moses. In every meeting, some faithful men and women, fearing God and hating covetousness, which is idolatry, should be appointed, duly to inspect into the families of their particular meeting; to see that there be no neglect of the poor, no disorderly walking on the part of any person that professes the Truth, neither unfaithfulness in any degree: and an

account should be brought up to the Monthly Meeting, according to the gospel order. And in your meetings, a weighty course should be had, in calling each meeting to examination, how things are amongst them: that thus all things may be brought to the Light, and and proved by it, whether they be wrought in God, yea or nay. Then, you can come up to your Quarterly Meeting, in a true sense, how things are with you: and so, all being kept in good order, you can sit down in the peaceable gospel, in love and unity, being refreshed in the love of God and one with another.

"This I desire, as an ancient brother, in the love of God, who hath made us partakers of his grace, wherein, while keeping in obedience, we feel a being bound up in the bundle of divine love, never to be separated. In which love I salute you all, and take my leave of you.

"SAMUEL WATSON."

While we may, with some feeling of instruction and delight, be allowed to dwell upon or cling to such evidence, as that which the above document affords us, of the favourable condition of a church, professing to be guided by the Spirit of Christ; we must, still, prepare for and accept the unwelcome intelligence,—that these scenes in their brightness, did not long continue. Another century was opening—and opening alike upon the ardent, hopeful, generous spirit of youth, as upon the ripening graces of "the ancient and honourable;" —these last were being fast gathered to the garner of eternal rest, while the former were but girding on the armour of righteousness, beginning the good fight of faith against a host of enemies. The age of intolerance, of popular violence, of systematic persecution was gone by; but the age of prosperity and of self-indulgence, the age of formality, of spiritual lethargy, and leanness was stealing on. That which the Sacred Volume has recorded, respecting outward Israel of old, might in measure be applied to the case of these

—a very small division of the spiritual Israel: "The people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord, that he did for Israel.—And there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel." Judges, ii. 7, 10.

A worthy, living remnant has indeed been hitherto preserved among the Society of Friends, even in these districts, where their principles were so boldly, so nobly maintained, though they be only as "gleaning grapes,"—"two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough"—so "few, that a child may write them." Through the merciful hand and renewed visitations of the Most High upon them, he has been pleased, from season to season, to water, to dig about, and to dress the plants of this portion of his vineyard, as well as to introduce among them of the choicest of his stock, enabling them to bring forth the fruits of holiness abundantly, "to the praise of the glory of his grace." Yet, certainly,—considering the allotment and the privileges, which, from one generation to another, the Lord has freely dealt out to them, among those that fear him,—it must be admitted, they have too generally, by no means, been that "willing people," which "the day of his power" would have made them,—a people "watching at his posts," waiting to hear his gracious will respecting them, and remembering his commandments to do them.—May the awful "song of the Beloved touching his vineyard," Isai. v. 50, &c. never be pronounced upon them!

But breaking away from these musings, again to revert to the Memoirs of earlier times; and passing by all minor transactions relating to the Friends in the north of Scotland; there are now to be given a few brief sketches of individuals among them, some of whose names may be familiar to the reader, as frequently occurring in the foregoing histories—these, having kept the faith that is in Christ Jesus, and held

out to the end in well-doing, were, we may believe, crowned with immortality and the joys of the blessed.

In the year 1723, died four of these associates in the warfare of life, Alexander Seaton, Robert Scott, David Wallace, and Christian Barclay.—The first-mentioned, Alexander Seaton, was the son of John Seaton of the Seaton family of Meldrum, being born near Lethinty, in the shire of Aberdeen, about the year 1652. It will probably be recollected, he was one of those students of the University of Aberdeen, who joined the Society in consequence of being convinced of the scriptural rectitude of their principles, when they were publicly advocated by Robert Barclay and George Keith, against the sophistry of his fellow-collegians. The candid confession, which he published under his own signature, at the end of the account of this controversy, is not unworthy perusal in this place: it is as follows.—"I also declare, (who, being a student at that time in the Old Town College, was present at the dispute, and heard the same with attention,) that the students, in their account, have grossly belied the Quakers in many things. And although since that, it hath pleased God to join me unto that people, yet at that time I had no mind to be of their way. However, when I saw their account, I did approve it, as ingenuous as now also I do; and disapprove the students', as false in many things.—Alexander Seaton."

While we are given to understand, that the bright example set before him in his relations, Alexander Forbes and wife, under whose roof he lodged while attending college, had previously had some favourable effect on his mind; yet, it is clear by the above language, he was by no means prepared to acknowledge the religious views of Friends, until after this public exposition of them had taken place.

Thus nobly beginning to confess Christ, the Truth, before men, while yet about 23 years of age, he grew and became established in Him, so that, cleaving to

His all-sufficient grace, the persecution and close imprisonment, which shortly after became his portion, only served to enlarge his experience of the power and goodness of God towards him. Being thrust into Aberdeen gaol, he was soon called upon, it is said, in rather a remarkable manner, publicly to give testimony by the word of exhortation, to that which had wrought so effectually in him. He is represented to have been a sincere and weighty man, of good understanding and solid judgment; a faithful, zealous, and sound minister of Jesus Christ; especially exemplary in humility and lowliness of mind, living in peace and unity with his friends, well esteemed likewise among his neighbours. He used daily to devote some part of his time to religious retirement; and, although a scholar, was not much known to be such in his public ministrations, valuing that learning but little in comparison of the cross of Christ and the operation of his Holy Spirit. After his marriage, from a sense of duty, he removed to Glasgow, where the few Friends in that city were undergoing some sharp trial, as well by abuses from the magistrates, as from the rude rabble. Here his faithfulness and constancy were further put to the test, and proved of considerable use, both in comforting and strengthening his friends, and in overcoming the malice of their enemies. At length, in 1699, he settled with his family in Ireland; and it appears that his character and services were, in several respects, much appreciated by the Society in that land.

In the latter part of his life, after various exercises and labours in the gospel of his Redeemer, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was visited with much bodily affliction. He bore all with remarkable patience, was attended with much sweetness in his spirit, and before he left this world uttered these comfortable expressions.—On one occasion, his family being about him, he said, "Do not put off repentance and amendment of life until the time of a dying bed;

for, commonly, it hath enough to do for itself. The Lord hath been very good to me even from my youth, and hath followed me with his goodness, and never left me in the time of divers exercises:—his presence is near; and it is manifested to me, that when my departure comes, it shall be in peace. The Comforter is near, and will endure, [while these] afflictions will have an end." To some Friends, who came to see him—"I have partaken of the earnest of that joy, which will never have an end: my Rock, my Fortress, my strong Tower, dwelleth with me, and does not leave me nor forsake me; blessed be his name! I hope to be with him for ever,—and that is more than a thousand worlds. There is a mansion of glory prepared in my Father's house;—said Christ, 'There are many mansions; if it had not been so, I would have told you'—there has been a discovery of a mansion of glory!" Some Friends coming before meeting to visit him, he observed, "Job was hard put to it, and his friends were all mistaken, in that they did not believe, that the Lord did afflict man without a sinful cause." His wife persuading him to take something, lest he should faint, he cheerfully consented, saying, "Let me try to eat one bit with my friends;" but turning the case, added, "Christ said, Labour for the bread that perisheth not—but nourisheth up to eternal life. Praises wait for the Lord in Zion: no trials, no afflictions, no temptations can obstruct his presence from the inhabitants thereof: 'praise is comely for the upright,' but becometh no wicked person."

Sometimes, being much pained with his disorder, he would say, "Lord! give me some ease, or take me to thyself. O Lord! give patience;—sustain and support me under these sharp afflictions: let the lifting up of my hands be as the evening sacrifice, acceptable unto thee! O Lord! thou art my Rock—the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land. The Lord hath promised to be with his children through the region and shadow of death, and [to] bring them to a lasting

eternity, where there is joy for evermore"—and then, turning to his wife, he applied the foregoing language to her, by very briefly intimating that, having such precious promises, she, in particular, had great occasion to be content under the divine appointments. At another season, having got some rest in sleep, he queried, "Why am I kept here? Let me go home—Lord! receive my spirit,—I recommend my soul [to thee]—receive me into thy everlasting kingdom and the mansion thou showedst me." A dear friend of his coming in, inquired how he was? to which he replied, "I would fain be gone; the Lord hath been very good to me, and led me through the cross to inherit the crown." Again, he addressed those about him—"The Lord hath been good to me from my childhood: he began to place his fear in my heart very early. The Lord never fails those who trust in him; he will be with them to death, and through death unto eternity. Fear God, and serve him; prefer his fear above all things, and he will provide for you." And further, to his wife, "My dear, the Lord is a Father to the fatherless, and a Husband to the widows that love and fear him; therefore be content and resigned to the will of the Lord." Some little time before his decease, several Friends who had been at meeting, coming in to see him, after a season of silence, and one present had spoken a few words, Alexander, being very much broken into tears, said, "It is the invisible power that supports under affliction: Moses 'endured, as seeing him that is invisible.'" Several Friends belonging to Lurgan, Ballindery, and Lisburn meetings visiting him, in his extreme weakness, his wife asked him, if he knew them? he replied, "I do very well; but it is a trouble to me to speak: but all is well, and will be everlastingly well."

His distemper was tedious, and at times exceedingly painful, but he was preserved in resignation to the last, and in great peace and quietness, yielded up his earthly being, it is concluded in exchange for an end-

less inheritance, on the 23rd of the 1st month, being about 71 years of age.

Robert Scott was convinced of the Truth, as held by this Christian people, at Montrose, the place of his nativity, where he several times suffered imprisonment; enduring his share of ill usage, which largely fell upon them in that town for their testimony and allegiance to the living God, who is ever worthy to be waited upon, worshipped, and adored! Afterward, he settled at Stonehaven: here, it is stated, that the public preachers, in like manner as at Montrose, began persecuting him, with a view of inducing him to remove away from the spot. But, by the judicious counsel of David Barclay, he was induced to stay, and to endeavour to live down, or wear out so very unworthy a disposition. This he most completely effected, by patient continuance in peaceable and upright conduct; for, betaking himself to merchandizing, by honest dealing and blameless conversation, his influence won upon his neighbours, and actually prevailed even over his opposers, so that most of those called clergy round the country sent to him for goods; and the Lord blessed his endeavours with such success, that he was reckoned one of the best traders in the place. Yet was he not in any wise puffed up, but abode in humility, thankful to the Giver of every good gift, and often praising him for his mercies. He was a great lover of the assemblies of the Lord's children and people; often, in the throng of business, leaving all to attend the meetings held in the middle of the week, and would frequently remark, that he never lost, but often gained by this practice, saying, these meetings were made to him the best of any. After his wife's death, advancing in years, he wisely retired from business; and his only son also dying, he was kindly cared for by a daughter-in-law to the end of his days. Thus freed from anxiety about the things of time, he was often giving glory and praise to the Lord, who had bountifully provided for him,

and had graciously afforded him both ease and also contentment in his old age; so that he had now nothing to do, but to make up his accounts with his heavenly Master. In this, the first business of his life, he was very diligent; often, in his closet, three times a day, would he pour forth his prayer to the Almighty; and a living power attended these ministrations, whether more privately or in the public gatherings. At length, about the 75th year of his age, feeling exceedingly bound to this blessed privilege, and now, on account of bodily infirmity, no longer able to meet his friends in their usual place of resort, he begged they would come and sit down with him in his own apartment; which request was readily acceded to, and the practice continued for a month previous to his removal. Indeed, it so occurred, that one of these solemn opportunities of worship, was held in his chamber only two hours before he expired, on the 31st of the 3rd month; when he was so filled with the power and presence of the Lord, that with a clear and audible voice, he presented his supplications unto him who had been with him all his life long, greatly to the tendering of the hearts of those present, both Friends and others. After which, in a fervent manner, he several times recommended his own soul to God, desiring him to finish that great work of gathering his soul; for he could do nothing, but "stand still and see" or "wait for his salvation." Then, with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, calling upon the Lord to take his spirit to himself, he yielded it up to Him who gave it.

David Wallace was also of Stonehaven, being born in the year 1660 of honest parents; his father was a farmer in the parish of Arbuthnot, some miles from thence. When he was about 18 years of age, he began to think upon true religion; and there being about that time some young men in the neighbourhood, who struck off from the national way of worship, and assorted with the people called Quakers, he came to be much in conversation with them. And

as they discoursed upon the things that belong to life and salvation, he was often satisfied in their company, and at length went with them to one of their meetings, which gave him some comfort. A Friend in the ministry afterward visiting Ury, he was also inclined to be at that meeting, where his mind was thoroughly reached by the power of the Lord, and he became persuaded *these* were the people with whom he could have fellowship, and that *this* was for him the pathway to peace. On his return home that night, he appeared to his parents to be a changed man; but they were mightily troubled at the circumstance. David Wallace had his companions in this straight and narrow way of self-denial, though few of them faithfully stood their ground in it, being turned aside by the fear of man, or the love of this present world. Among these few, was his brother, and especially one David Donaldson, of Allardice. They met with opposition and difficulties of various kinds, from both "professors and profane," as also from their own near relatives: this occasioned them many and heavy exercises; but through all, the Lord supported and strengthened them by his Divine presence, his arm being extended for their help, when refuge failed, so that they were borne above all storms and threatenings. David Wallace, in particular, came forward steadily, in all things standing by that cause, which he had thus conscientiously taken up. Endued with good abilities, he had also a deep judgment in spiritual things, and his memory in Scripture was so remarkable, that he was termed by some, *the Concordance*, being commonly able to give chapter and verse to most passages. In the place where he lived, Stonehaven, he was a useful character among his neighbours in their town concerns; but towards the church to which he belonged, he was serviceable in many respects, loving to help forward on their way travelling ministers, and on some occasions accompanying them for a considerable time together, far distant from his own home. In his

last illness, he signified, that his peace was made with the Lord, and that he had finished his day's work; admonishing those who came to see him, to be obedient to God in their day,—that he was now ready to be dissolved, and longed to be with his dear Saviour; to whom, at times, he would pray fervently, that He would be pleased to be with him through the untrodden valley of death;—"yet," added he, "I will fear no evil, for the Lord will be with me." In this happy state of mind, resigning his own soul, also his wife and children to the care and protection of the Almighty, he quietly passed away, on the 4th of the 6th month, being 63 years of age.

Of the next individual, Christian Barclay, no additional particulars have come to hand, beyond the instructive document, which was issued after her decease, by those who could best estimate the value of her character. An abstract of the principal parts of it, are here subjoined.—Her mind was remarkably turned to religious considerations from her youth, publicly embracing the testimony of Truth, in the love of it, about the 16th year of her age, and that, through many hardships and sufferings; in this path she all along steadfastly trod, giving evidence both by doctrine, and by an example becoming the gospel, of her great concern for its prosperity. She was a well-accomplished woman every way, and of singular virtues; grave and weighty in conversation, "diligent in business," as well as "fervent in spirit;" and therein "serving the Lord," he was pleased to afford her many precious seasons of refreshment, wherein she was enabled livingly to testify of his dealings to the children of men, being plentifully attended with his love and power, to the great joy and comfort of the faithful; and to the praise of Him who hath so gloriously revealed himself in this latter age. In the same love for her fellow-creatures, she laid herself out to assist and give advice to sick people; especially the poor, whose necessities she freely supplied. Many of

her patients would come ten, twenty, thirty, and some even forty miles and upwards; receiving through her care and skill very considerable benefit, for her success was wonderful; so that, among these classes, much lamentation prevailed on account of her removal. Her great and daily concern for the preservation and advancement of her family, in those things that are most worthy and excellent, has been before adverted to, as well as for the welfare of the youth in general, who came under her notice. The bright influence of her example had great effect upon her children and grandchildren, eight or ten of whom she usually had at a time under her roof; and she was permitted to see the Divine approbation and blessing, remarkably crown her endeavours on their behalf. But her efforts and exercises, not confined here, were directed for the good of all; especially for the church—that no slackness or unconcern might be entertained, and that every one professing Christ, might use all diligence to make their calling and election sure. During her last illness, many were her pious expressions, all tending to the same purpose,—for sickness altered not her frame of spirit; the earnest, unabated desire prevailing with her to the last, that in life and death, she might be a faithful servant of the Lord. At length she yielded up her spirit in great peace, joy, and quietness, on the 14th of the 12th month, having outlived her husband 32 years, and being herself in the 76th year of her age.

Respecting the family left by this "mother in Israel," there have already been some promising and rather unusually hopeful circumstances recorded. That they were favoured to hold on their way, in the line so highly recommended to them by the piety, the prayers, and spiritual nurture of their parents, there is no cause to doubt: but the information which might have cleared up this point, is, with regard to some of these children, defective. They were seven in number. Christian, one of the daughters, treading in the

footsteps of her mother, was valued as a faithful labourer in the gospel field. She was married in 1699 to Alexander Jaffray, son of Andrew Jaffray; and her decease took place as late as the year 1751: after a long life spent, according to the representation of survivors, "from early youth to her latest moments," in sincere dedication to the path of duty. The three other daughters were married into the Forbes family of Aquorthies; while two of the sons, David and John, settled, the one in London and the other in Dublin. Robert, the eldest, succeeded to the estate of Ury, which is still in the family:—and he succeeded also, as we have already seen, to the spiritual heritage of those that fear the Lord, through acceptance of "the spirit of adoption," whereby the children of all true believers may become the children of God. Besides his journey to the Highlands, he travelled several times, in the line of ministry, to London and other parts of England and Scotland; was zealous in propagating that which he believed to be the truth of the gospel, amongst his friends and others; charitable to the poor, humble and meek in his deportment, benevolent to all. He also wrote one or two small treatises. About two years before his removal by death, which took place in 1747, on the completion of his 75th year, he contracted much weakness of body; which, however, did not prevent him from being diligent in attending religious meetings in the neighbourhood. In a submissive state of mind, he waited his last change; and when much afflicted by disease, used to say, "Not my will, but the Lord's be done in every thing." And, a short time before he became speechless, one standing by his bed-side, thinking he did not hear, whispered to another, that she was surprised to perceive such a sweat upon him; on which he answered with a strong voice, "This is the sweat which comes before death—and I shall now soon be among the spirits of just men made perfect." Shortly afterward he, as it were, slept away, expiring at his house of Springhall, near Ury;

and giving ample proof, to the last, that he had been made partaker of those highly spiritual views of the gospel dispensation, which the Society of Friends have been called to uphold; the consistency of which standard, has been of late, in several respects, increasingly acknowledged by most other Christian communities.

CHAPTER XIX.

1726: Sketch of Andrew Jaffray's Life, Death, and Character, with some Account of his Family.

The Jaffrays have been prominent throughout the greater part of this volume. As the first portion of it was wholly devoted to the religious experience of one of that family,* who became the foremost in the north of Scotland to show himself a convert to the opinions of the Friends; so has their name been conspicuous in the present division of the work,—holding no unimportant position amongst their associates of this persuasion. For no sooner had the memoirs of Alexander Jaffray been pursued to a conclusion, than we find his son Andrew, deliberately attaching himself to the same stock of Christian reformers; and proving, through a long life of dedication, the sincerity of his views. And now, that the reader is about to quit these historical collections, there are yet to be submitted to his attention a few summary particulars concerning the life and latter end of this individual,—the last of that generation of worthies, whose memory deserves to be held up to a succeeding age.

Andrew Jaffray, from his earliest years, was one, on whose behalf ascended the continual incense of parental prayer. This, the Diary of his father gives full warrant for asserting, if the general character and profession of both parents is not alone sufficient to prove

* It has been already mentioned that in the English edition, the Diary of Alexander Jaffray, here referred to, preceded this Account of Friends in Scotland.

it. He was also permitted the inestimable privilege of their counsel, example, and care, up to the period when he became of age; shortly after which, and within a very short interval, it may be remembered, he was by death deprived of both of them. They seemed, indeed, at their departure, to have set a broad seal of recommendation, not likely soon to be effaced from the mind of their son, in favour of those gospel views, which they themselves had so firmly embraced. Of Andrew, it is recorded, that in his very youthful days he was reached unto by the power of God; so that, many times, in secret places, he would be broken into mourning and tears before him; being attended with a fear, lest he should be utterly cast off from the Divine presence and favour. Yet afterward, this good concern and working of the Holy Spirit upon his heart was considerably withdrawn, by giving way to youthful vanity, and his own desires and devices; although at times, on these accounts, still pursued with strong convictions, as well as wonderfully preserved by merciful interposition from the more gross outbreakings of evil. When arrived at about the 24th year of his age, the Lord once more condescended effectually to visit him, and to awaken him to a deep sense of his miserable condition while in a state of nature. Submitting to those righteous judgments, which lay heavily upon him for sin and transgression, he became as a tender penitent, prostrated before the all-seeing and holy God, being made altogether willing to undergo the secret but effectual operation of the heavenly leaven within him. Thus, in due season, was he given to know in his measure, the fulfilment of that Scripture passage, which the Apostle applies to some believers in his day, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." 1 Cor. vi. 11.

At length he was called upon by Christ, who had become his Saviour, his Leader, and his Light, to proclaim unto others that grace by which we must be

saved, and of which he had so richly partaken. His father had given him a liberal education: but when brought to behold the simplicity and beauty of the Truth as it is in Jesus, we are told, that he quickly came to esteem all learning but as dross and dung, compared with the learning and knowing Jesus Christ according to his second or spiritual coming in the soul, and a being hereby purified from all dead works to serve the living God. For this appeared to him to be one end and purpose of His coming in the flesh, that he might put an end to sin, finish transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness. In the promulgation of such glad tidings, he soon became a zealous, faithful, and able minister; for his heart was freely given up to labour, as well for the convincement of those who were scattered upon the barren mountains of an empty profession, as for the confirmation of such as were acquainted with the things of God's kingdom. His utterance is represented as clear, full, and penetrating; in doctrine and argument he was sound, bold, and perspicuous; on many occasions to the confusion and defeat of those who undertook to oppose his testimony, which was often levelled with great power against all description of will-worship, and a spurious or man-made ministry. Yet in his demeanor, there was remarkable humility manifested, being always disposed to esteem others better than himself, though a great despiser of the honour, riches, and vain glory of this world. He was eminently led forth as an instrument on various public occasions; and had a peculiar talent in visiting the sick, but especially the distressed of every rank, profession, and character within his reach—and with great acceptance; "many," as his friend Robert Barclay the younger observes, "bearing grateful remembrance of his love and service, and of the strength and efficacy that attended his ministry of consolation." For, he was a man who, through life, had travelled much in the track of the "weary and heavy laden," having had in his own ex-

perience to pass through many deep and bitter exercises of spirit, with manifold temptations of the enemy. This kept him in a fresh and humble condition, and in great tenderness towards others; always admiring the boundless mercy and long-suffering of God, who, through all, had preserved him from fainting and showed him favour,—raising him over all, to bless his holy name!

It is not needful here to specify the cheerfulness and alacrity, with which he underwent any hardship that might befall him, in those services to which he believed himself called; his sufferings for conscience sake, having been amply testified of in the course of this publication. He was a very useful man among his neighbours, endeavouring to serve the interests of vital godliness, to disseminate the true faith of Christ, and to follow peace with all men. Among his friends, he was a pattern of good works and of gospel order; one who tenderly cherished whatever in religion savoured of that heavenly life, without which all observances are vain; at the same time, strenuous and unyielding in his opposition to that which he fully believed gendered to bondage and spiritual death.

Andrew Jaffray travelled in the work of the ministry in various parts of his native country, and in England; once, in the year 1698, being accompanied by his daughter Margaret, who, like some females of old, laboured with him in the gospel. Phil. iv. 3. She also, two years afterward, undertook a journey on the like errand of love both to England and Ireland, being then but a young woman. Her friends describe her to have been a worthy and zealous preacher of righteousness, as well in life and conversation as in word and doctrine. On one occasion, she addressed the inhabitants of Aberdeen with a paper, on the subject of an appointed fast which had been then recently kept; the danger of hypocrisy and formality in such stated observations, no doubt had strongly affected her serious and feeling mind.—Another circumstance, it

will be proper to notice respecting this individual, before resuming the account of her father.

Among the Excerpts from the Register of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, as given in a History of that place, the following appears among the remarkable events: —"1698. 17th February.—Last Sabbath, at Newhills, Margaret Jaffray, daughter of Andrew Jaffray of Kingswells, coming with other Quakers, entered the church, and cried, 'Do not believe that deceiver, &c.'" —The Author did not think himself at liberty to omit the insertion of this record; for unquestionably, Andrew Jaffray, as well as his daughter, with Robert Barclay the apologist, and many other ministers among the early Friends, several times took their share in such very humiliating line of testimony.

In several publications relating to these times, some of them of late years brought before the public, statements somewhat similar have been made; without being accompanied by any explanation of the attendant circumstances, under which such extraordinary conduct took place. It would be surely better for the interests of religion in general, that facts so peculiar in their nature were not revived at all, than that they should be exhibited in an inadequate and unsatisfactory manner. Otherwise, there is reason to apprehend, the "obnoxious" practice simply considered, will not have by any means excited that contempt and prejudice against the sacred cause, which the recital of the fact is likely to do. The enemies of the cross of Christ are thus, perhaps unintentionally, strengthened; whereas, had these themselves witnessed the whole transaction, and known the situation of the parties concerned, it is not improbable,—nay, it has happened, that some present on such occasions, have been so impressed with the scene, as actually to have protected the poor individual from the insults of those, who should have been examples to others. The undistinguishing outcry of enthusiasm and fanatacism has not ceased; but is from time to time still poured upon the more deeply exer-

cised votaries of the Lamb. Let us not forget,—He was a man of sorrows, whose visage was more marred than that of any man, despised and rejected, so that many hid as it were their faces from him;—and it is to be feared, that thus his followers and little ones are oftentimes treated. When we view a set of men, upright, sincere, and consistent in all their actions, of a sober and sound mind, studying to be quiet and to do their own business; when we see such as these, fervent also in spirit, serving the Lord in much simplicity, the zeal of whose house hath, to appearance, eaten them up—and this, not merely for selfish ends or to obtain popularity, not to preach only the name of Christ and the forms of godliness, but likewise his transforming power;—should we not pause?—should we not endeavour to discriminate, and look to the bottom of their motives, who are so raised above the variable and ambiguous rules of refinement and of custom, in the desire to clear their own consciences of the blood of their brethren, as in the sight of that Searcher of hearts, whose ways are higher than our ways and his thoughts than our thoughts? Do we see nothing in their unmannerly protest, in any respect analagous (however distant and feeble the analogy must be,) to that procedure of the lowly and holy Jesus, when he went into the temple of God, and so severely expostulated with those who had appropriated the solemn occasion of Divine service to the purposes of merchandize? Or can we imagine nothing in our own practice, approaching to the conduct of those, who, when Paul and Barnabas had given proof of their mission, according to that which was committed to them, blasphemously though ignorantly cried out, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men?" And, were thoughts in any degree resembling these to steal over us, should we brand with enthusiasm the sudden impulse of godly jealousy, which might urge a Paul or a Barnabas to run in between us and our impious sacrifices at the shrine of men?—Not that by this train of reason-

ing, it is to be understood, that a religious community must be responsible for every wild act of intemperate pretenders to a Divine and Scriptural commission. "Believe not every spirit," said the Apostle, "but try the spirits, whether they are of God." 1 John, iv. 1. And if it be asked, How? Hear the Master himself:—"He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." John, iii. 21.

In addition to the above observations, those of the judicious and candid historian of this Society, Sewell, may here be properly brought in upon the same subject.—"Perhaps some will think it was very indecent that they went so frequently to the steeple-houses, and there spoke to the priests. But whatsoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that those teachers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godliness, as was well known to those who themselves had been priests, and freely resigned their ministry, thenceforth to follow Christ in the way of his cross; and these were none of the least zealous against that society, among whom they formerly had ministered with an upright zeal. Yet they were not for using sharp language against such teachers, who according to their knowledge feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly against those who were only rich in words, without bringing forth true Christian fruits and works of justice." Sewell's History, vol. i. p. 128.

Having thus adverted to one of the daughters of Andrew Jaffray, this will be the most fit place to introduce a brief but precious memorial of another, Lilias, who was so named in remembrance of her honoured grandmother, Lilias Skene. The Friends in Aberdeen and the neighbourhood, in their united capacity, were induced to convey their genuine unsophisticated feeling, upon occasion of her death, by a simple record of her worth. This they did, not with any view of puffing up the vain mind in youth or others; but as an encouragement to survivors of every class, to aim at,

wrestle for, and breathe after that purity of heart, which the filial fear of our beneficent and heavenly Father will not fail to bring forth. Her example, thus held up, is an illustration of the force and value of Solomon's beautiful language :—" The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom—get wisdom, get understanding—forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee; love her, and she shall keep thee—exalt her, and she shall promote thee—she shall give to thine head an ornament of grace; a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee."

" Upon the 1st of the 4th month, 1694, it pleased the Lord to remove out of the body a dear young plant, Lilias Jaffray, eldest daughter to Andrew Jaffray, being near 20 years of age; who, as she was of a very loving, sweet, innocent nature from her infancy, had also drank in a tender, sweet love to the Truth and to Friends, being beloved of all, both Friends and other people, that ever knew her. She was exceeding subject and obedient to her parents in the Lord; so she laid down her body in a sensible feeling of God's love and favour, and unity of Friends, the said day, a little before one in the morning. Her body was buried in her father's burial-ground at Kingswells, upon the 3d day of the said month, being a 1st day, after a good meeting and good service at the burial-place."

After this servant of the Lord, her father, had been honoured by bearing witness, for upwards of fifty years, to the excellency of the saving and spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus, having had his conversation in the world in much simplicity and godly sincerity, " not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God,"—he was cast upon the bed of sickness, and seemed not likely again to be restored to the church. During that dispensation, a calumnious report was industriously propagated in Aberdeen, that he totally denied those principles, which he had so long and so nobly defended. This circumstance, as he subsequently acknowledged, in a writing dictated by himself,

and signed only two days before his death, "made me, after my last great sickness, the more willing to be restored, in subjection to the will of God;—and I am made willing, though some years after, to leave this testimony,—whatever evil men or others may say against me,—that if it be the Lord's will to remove me at this time, I die in unity with the Friends of Truth." Though favoured with some degree of returning health, the pressure of natural infirmity was latterly very heavy upon him; yet was he again and again strengthened publicly to advocate the gospel of the free and unmerited grace of God; for, even up to the last day before he took to his chamber, he exhorted and commended his friends to cleave to it. When confined to the bed for some months, under much bodily weakness, distress, and conflict, not without the buffetings of Satan,—the energies of the outward man gradually decaying,—he experienced the frequent rekindling of his desires and hopes heavenward; and was often engaged in a lively, clear strain, to set forth his admiring sense of the Lord's goodness towards his soul. He breathed his last on the 1st of the 2nd month, 1726, in great peace, and full assurance of an everlasting portion among the followers of the Lamb; his remains being interred in his own burial-ground on the family estate of Kingswells.

In the paper above referred to, taken down so shortly previous to his removal, he thus alludes to the memorable outpouring of the Holy Spirit, of which he and others were made partakers, during the time of their long imprisonment at Aberdeen.—"Oh! the unutterable glory, that brake forth and spread even in this country, wherein God Almighty raised up some mean instruments, as well as some more honourable, and myself among others, though very unworthy! And when thirty or forty of our ancient Friends were shut up in prison, I cannot but remember this particular instance; that when we were all met in the low Tolbooth, and not a word had been spoken among

us, either in prayer or preaching,—we breathing in our hearts for power to do the Lord's will;—his power at last brake in among us in a wonderful manner, to the melting and tendering our hearts. And though I was kept very empty a long time, yet at last the glorious power of God broke over the whole meeting, and upon me also, and ravished my heart,—yea, did appear as a ray of divine glory, to the ravishing of my soul, and all the living ones in the meeting. So that some of those that were in the town-council above us, confessed to some of our number with tears, that the breaking in of that power, even among them, made them say one to another, 'O! how astonishing it is, that our ministers should say, the Quakers have no psalms in their meetings; for such an heavenly sound we never heard in either old or new church.' After this, our meetings were often filled with heavenly, divine comfort, to the satisfaction of our souls, and we were often overcome with the love of our God, and many innumerable instances of his miraculous power attended us; many of which are recorded in a book for posterity to come. And God will tread down Satan under the feet of his power in due time, let him rage as he will."

CHAPTER XX.

Some observations on the state of the Society of Friends in the present day, occasioned by the foregoing history, and the anticipations of their predecessors.

At the opening of these Memoirs, the travels of George Fox in Scotland, in the year 1657, were briefly adverted to. After describing, in his Journal, the last meeting he had, previous to his return to England, this extraordinary comment upon his visit occurs.—"The truth and the power of God was set

over that nation; and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Teacher, whose blood was shed for them: and there is since a great increase,—and great there will be in Scotland, though the time may be far distant at present. For when first I set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, as innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness atop, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and ploughed up with his spiritual plough, before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory. But the husbandman is to wait in patience."

Whether those readers, who may be inclined to lay some stress upon such anticipation, can see any thing like the fulfilment of it, at least in part, in the foregoing history, must be left with each individual to decide for himself. Certainly, it is due to the subject to state, that George Fox was not the only one, who deliberately avowed his views, as to the more extensive reception, through that district, of a standard of truth and righteousness, such as is upheld by the Society of Friends. William Dewsbury's letter, at page 95 of this volume, plainly and strongly intimates his expectations on the same point; while one from William Penn to these persecuted people, p. 153, will bear no very different construction. In 1677, George Fox again declares his belief, that "the Lord hath a great seed and work in that country." Andrew Jaffray also, a sketch of whose character and close formed the principal subject of the last preceding chapter, was another who entertained similar impressions. In the testimony respecting him, before cited, and which, it will be recollected, was drawn up by the son of "the Apologist," these following expressions are made use of. "There are several remarkable instances of his having, upon occasion, had the gift of prophecy;

—which strengthens the desire and hope the Lord hath raised in several, in that [respect, in which] he was very positive, namely,—that the Lord would yet again visit this land, to the gathering of many to condemn the world, its wisdom, and ways."—Besides these, John Gratton, whose visit to his fellow-professors in Scotland has been already described, closes his narrative with this encouraging estimate of the prospects, as well as actual condition of religious classes of the people at large:—"I hope and believe, the Lord will have a great people there, in time to come; though the enemy be angry, and would hinder the spreading of the holy Truth;——yet, his weapons are but carnal, silly, and weak. I desire many Friends may think of that nation, and, in the will of God, give up to visit it; for, there is a zealous, professing people, that, were they but brought to the knowledge of Truth—I believe there are many, yea, very many, who would be zealous for it." See his Journal, edit. 1823, p. 115. This was about the year 1694.

Doubtless, such expectations were not unreasonable; they were never entertained, neither were such declared assurances ever given forth, by any true messengers of the Lord, without at least an implied reference to those qualifying conditions, which must ever attend the distribution of the tokens of Divine favour towards any people.

But, in order somewhat further to clear up, at least so far as the Author may be enabled, a subject deeply involving, to a certain extent, the all-important interests of true religion—namely, the condition and prospects of that small portion of the Christian community, whose history has now been brought to a conclusion; it is needful to indulge him with a little latitude, while he attempts to relieve his mind as regards such a people, by some remarks more especially applicable to them.

It has been abundantly, explicitly, and publicly avowed by the early members of the Society of

Friends, that they did believe themselves raised up by the power of God, to manifest forth "the truth as it is in Jesus;" being assured, that, in various essential points and symptoms, the professing Christians of their day, had greatly fallen short of so purely spiritual a standard. It was also their belief, that if they sustained in faithfulness this testimony committed to them, others would in due season be constrained to acknowledge its excellence, and gather unto it. Accordingly, as long as they followed in simplicitly their Leader and Light, obeying unreservedly that power in which their faith stood, wonderful, even in the face of all opposition, were the effects of their example and ministry. But, when they or their successors in any wise withdrew their necks from the yoke of Christ, allowing any thing to stand in competition with his will concerning them, and so declining to cleave unto the Lord with full purpose of heart; he hid his face from them, and veiled that glory, which had indeed been a wall of defence about them, on the right hand and on the left. Thus, in proportion as they have at any time cast away the shield of faith in this Divine, inward power, whereby their predecessors measurably obtained victory over the things of a present world; the enemy by little and little has prevailed, so as, in some respects, to reduce them to a comparatively feeble and defective condition. Meanwhile, among the different persuasions of Protestants in these nations, there have been those, who, occupying with what has been made known to them of Divine light and truth, have grown stronger and stronger in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. These have been given to see and to maintain some of those very principles and practices, with which the people called Quakers, almost singly and alone, seemed aforetime to have been intrusted. Thus, in the present day, the sentiments held by others of the pious, dedicated servants of God, beside the Friends, have undergone a considerable, though

gradual amelioration; the standard of Truth has been more purely exalted through them, although their respective popular creeds and ceremonial usages, may remain much as they were in former times; they are pressing into the marrow and pith of true religion,—the life of Jesus inwardly revealed. So that, as might be expected, many such are actually, at this day, approving and accepting those very decrees, and ordinances, and testimonies, which the Spirit of Christ, the Truth, led our forefathers to adopt or observe;—and which testimonies, nevertheless, are even now, by our own professed friends, oftentimes let fall in our streets, and in some danger of being trampled under foot.

What wonder, then, that this precious discovery of spiritual doctrine and practice, did not prevail among the nations, in that manner and to the full extent, which we may imagine the primitive Friends expected? Yea, rather, is there not cause of wonder, that it should have been thus far admired and owned by others, so palpable occasion of stumbling having been from one generation to another, administered within our own borders? And how would it have flourished in the earth, had this people more generally abode in the Vine of Life, as the true spiritual Israel ever do! The Lord would have kept these fruitful branches, as his Prophet declares, "night and day,"—he would have watered them "every moment:" then also, his ancient promise, in the succeeding verses, would have been amply realized—"He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root: Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the earth with fruit." Isai. xxvii. 3, 6. But, still more is the infinite long-suffering and unsearchable forbearance of the Almighty to be adored, that such a people as this, should not have been even utterly "cut short" and forsaken; according to those memorable denunciations and threats made use of in Holy Scripture against

outward Israel, a blacksliding and rebellious generation,—according, also, to those prophetic warnings, which from time to time, and of late, even year by year, have gone forth from the lips of chosen vessels in the midst of our public assemblies. Truly "it is of the Lord's mercies [that] we," whose responsibilities have been so great, "are not consumed!"

Congenial with the above views of the justice and mercy of the Most High, is the pathetic language adopted by one of such faithful gospel ministers, who in comparatively recent times, visited the Friends in Scotland, from the continent of America. "Although," says J. Churchman, "the decendants and children of Friends, who were as bright stars in their day, may value themselves on the worthiness of their parents; yet, if they do not love and serve the God of their fathers with a perfect heart and an upright mind, he will not own them with his heavenly presence, but they will be as unsavory salt." See his Journal, Philad. edit. 1818, p. 129. Again, another dedicated minister, Richard Jordan, leaves this feeling remark on record.—"Oh! may the lives and testimonies of those eminent instruments and faithful servants of God in their day, like the blood of righteous Abel, though dead, yet continue so to speak to after generations, and to their own posterity in particular, that they may be stirred up to follow them as they followed Christ." And a little further on, he thus speaks of the state of the people more at large. "I may now remark, that in passing along through Scotland, it has not felt so dark and distressing to my mind, as in many other places. It has seemed to me, that there are many precious souls, who are secretly inquiring the way to the Zion of rest; but,—oh! for those pastors and teachers, who keep them, as it were, in the outward court, and instruct them to look for this rest in something without them, even in their ceremonies and ordinances. But how can it be otherwise, when they themselves have come no further; but are still fram-

ing ordinances out of the Scriptures, without the Spirit, and without the Life. Oh! what running to and fro, to find this rest, what divisions in their churches, so called;—yea, divisions, and sub-divisions; and none seem to be yet settled. How my soul felt for them; and I was not a little confirmed in my mind, that a door would be opened, yea, was already opened, for the true messengers of the gospel to labour profitably in that country; if they do but travail deep enough in the Spirit and Life,—which, it is the earnest solicitude of my soul, may be the case there, and wherever it may please the Lord to send them."

Thus, can we not, who belong to so highly favoured a church, most plainly perceive, that it is disobedience and distrust, (the one being very intimately connected with the other,) that draw down the Divine displeasure upon a people; in accordance with that exhortation of the Prophet in the name of his God, Jer. vii. 23.—"Obey my voice," and then, continues he, "I will be your God, and ye shall be my people"—not else. And saith the Apostle Paul, "Towards thee," that is, the called of the Lord, "goodness; if thou continue in his goodness, otherwise, thou also shalt be cut off," Rom. xi. 22; and again, another Apostle utters this awful inquiry, "What shall the end be of those that obey not the gospel of God?" 1 Peter, iv. 17.

The Society of Friends, certainly, never countenanced the idea among its professed members or adherents,—as a modern writer on Ecclesiastical History and Nonconformity seems to intimate,—that any of us should think within ourselves, "We have Abraham to our father." The strain of exhortation may, indeed, not unfrequently be heard among us, "Look unto Abraham your father, and Sarah that bare you"—"walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham"—follow such as have themselves truly followed Christ, have drunk of that Rock, and found it to be in them "a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

Ah! may a consideration of what the Lord hath wrought for the predecessors of this people, duly affect the minds of those, who, in a certain sense, have taken up their mantle,—who have been made sensible what constituted the clothing of their spirits, even the garments of righteousness, salvation and praise! May they often meditate upon the honourable place, which has been obtained for them in the estimation of other disciples of a crucified Saviour, even through a sea of troubles, "a fight of afflictions!" May they correctly appreciate the value of that description of inheritance, in some sort procured unto them through the sufferings and exercises of those, who, like Caleb and Joshua, have led the way to a land of spiritual rest and plenty! may they be encouraged to go into this good land and possess it,—more richly, more fully, more availingly inherit it, to the health of their own souls, and to the help of all with whom they have to do! May those also of a younger generation, like Timothy of old, keep that good thing committed to them, by the Holy Spirit; then the promises and prophecies which may have gone before on such, will be revived, confirmed, and applied in their experience; and the faith which was in their forefathers will also, doubtless, dwell in them. In this way, is it not to be confidently, yet humbly expected, that such will be "blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them," that He will delight to increase such more and more, they and their children; so that, instead of their fathers, will, in due season, be the children, standing in their allotment and sharing in their privileges. For "the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children; to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them." Psal. ciii. 17, 18.

In contemplating the foregoing memorials of a Christian community, so remarkably separated unto the Lord, through reception of the Truth of Christ,

and sanctification of the spirit thereby :—" strengthened," also, as they were, in proportion to their need, " with all might according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness,"—will there not an acknowledgment be raised, in the breast of every one that knows and loves the appearing of Jesus Christ, that such a work must be of God and not of man. And if we are prepared to admit it, it was, in their case, by the effectual operation of his power and grace upon their hearts, that such a work was thus commenced, carried on, and completed to his own praise; shall we not, in like manner, be ready to believe, that thus, in our line and measure, he is willing to do for us of the present day, as well as for every generation of those, who shall desire above all things to " wait for his salvation," who shall be " looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." Assuredly, " the promise" is unto us and unto our " children, and unto all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call :"—for, " God is faithful, by whom ye are called unto the fellowship of his Son." 1 Cor. i. 9.

There may be those readers, who belong to the Society of Friends, as there may be also other dedicated, but discouraged minds, who, in taking a survey of the Lord's marvellous dealings with those who have preceded them, and in reflecting on the manifold weaknesses which attend and surround them, may be oftentimes inclined to take up the mournful expressions of the Psalmist, Psal. lxxvii. 5.—" I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times. I call to remembrance my song in the night: I commune with mine own heart: and my spirit made diligent search. Will the Lord cast off for ever? and will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? doth his promise fail for evermore? Hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies? Selah. And I said, This is my infirmity; but I will remember the years of the

right hand of the Most High. I will remember the works of the Lord: surely, I will remember thy wonders of old. I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings."

But, "Behold," said the evangelical Prophet, "the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save, neither his ear grown heavy, that it cannot hear"—and, for the cry of the poor and the sighing of the needy, he yet continues to arise, having mercy upon Zion, and comforting all her waste places; so that the confession is still known to break forth, season after season, from prepared hearts,—in the language of the blessed Virgin,—"He hath showed strength with his arm—his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation."

Wonderful, indeed, in every age, are the dealings of the Shepherd of Israel towards those under every name, who are the sheep of his hand! Wherever scattered, or wherever gathered, truly they have "a goodly heritage," as well as "exceeding great and precious promises;" and, however these provided blessings may seem for a time to fall short of fulfilment, yet are they all in progress, yet are they all steadfast and sure to His seed and church,—to those who cleave unto Him in dependence and submission of soul. A mark is said to be set upon those who sigh and cry,—who, waiting, mourn for the accomplishment of these heavenly promises, in the further development, purification, and glory of Zion:—their borders will be enlarged, saith the Lord God! See Isai. liv. 2, 3, 6, and 11; also Jer. xxx. 15 to 19. "For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry;" he will, in due season, more fully and more unequivocally acknowledge his holy work and people, all the world over, even those that are endeavouring, however feebly, to acknowledge him in their ways. The declaration hath gone forth—"Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come," Psal. cii. 13; and verse

16,—"When the Lord shall build up Zion, he will appear in his glory." And again, it is affirmed by the Prophet, that he will beautify the place of his sanctuary, and will make the place of his feet glorious. Isai. lx. 13.

Thus, the tribulated followers of the Lamb, however burdened with a sense of the present triumphing of their enemies, however bowed down in spirit when given to see the state of things around them,—if they can adopt that language of appeal uttered by the servant of God in ancient days, Isai. xxvi. 8, "In the way of thy judgments, O Lord! have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee:"—even all such, may undoubtedly look forward with confidence to the completion of what is written,—"Yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger in their destruction." "The rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth;" and "it shall be said in that day, Lo! this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation." Isai. xxv. 9.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

On the state of the Church at large, with reference to the successive stages of her reformation, and occasioned by a view of that share and interest, which the Society of Friends have ever taken therein.

The Author of these Memoirs, having now finished the task he ventured to take in hand, or rather that allotment of labour which seemed to devolve upon him, apprehends there is yet a duty he owes, not only to his subject, but to the reader,—to take his leave of both, with some general and concluding observations.

He does not hesitate to avow his belief, that the religious Society of Friends were a people originally

raised up, in the line of the Apostles, martyrs, and confessors of Christ Jesus, the blessed Mediator, "whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." Micah, v. 2. He rests assured, they were designed to be faithful and living witnesses of the revival of that "time of reformation," Heb. ix. 10, when the holy Head and High Priest, having ascended up on high, visibly separated and eminently sanctified to himself "a glorious church," whose character and constitution is best set forth in the disencumbered pages of Sacred Writ. Doubtless, through the long night of apostasy, which succeeded the first establishment of the Christian church, there has been, at every period, a "remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." Rev. xii. 17. These,—however they may differ in some respects one from another, according to that measure of light and knowledge which has been assigned them, according to the particular share in this testimony, with which they may have been intrusted,—while they continue to occupy with the talent of grace received, and to walk in the way of the cross, as mercifully cast up before them,—are all under the special notice and care of the great Shepherd of the sheep.

The church, then, coming up more and more from a wilderness state, "leaning on her Beloved," out of that oppressed and beclouded condition, into which she has been driven; it is certain, she will be more and more clothed with the glory of the Sun of righteousness, and there will be more clear vision among her children. The power of Antichrist will be more unveiled before them in all his delusions,—that is, they will be given to know what has contributed to eclipse the brightness of the gospel day, and to detain her in weakness and in bondage: also, "they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion." Isai. lii. 8. But, in the mean while, it behoves every of her sons and daughters, who are from time to time made sensible of any degree of captivity, to shake

themselves as from the dust, and to loose the bands of their neck, Isai. lii. 2; in other words, no longer to be resting satisfied with any thing short of that perfect reformation and redemption, which the Deliverer is opening before them.

It was to be expected, in the progress of this glorious work,—a work to be begun and to be carried on in the hearts of individuals,—that there should be different classes of students in the school of Christ; and that as each of the "members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones," were attracted to acknowledge one another in the covenant of life, according to the vision of the Prophet, they should come "bone to his bone." How precious is the consideration,—that as the various professors of the saving faith of Jesus, more largely and more purely drink into his Spirit, they will be by this one Spirit baptised into one body; and will feel themselves to be, far more truly than can at present be said to be the case,—bone of *His* bone who is espoused to be their Husband,—and "every one members one of another!" Thus, there is cause to believe, that, "in the dispensation of the fulness of times," will be gathered "together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in Him." Eph. i. 10.

The situation and prospects, in every age, of the true disciples of our Lord and Saviour must prove to the Christian mind a subject of vast importance; and it deeply concerns every one of us to know for ourselves, how far we are promoting, by individual reception of the leaven of his gospel, that universal diffusion of unmixed "glory," which, we are assured, "shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea." Hab. ii. 14. The government and dominion of "the Prince of Life," "the Prince of Peace," which is ultimately to subdue and reduce all things unto itself, Dan. ii. 44, the Society of Friends have preeminently held, to be wholly of a spiritual character: it is to be set up within man, and "cometh not by observation," neither

stands in any mere outward observances, but in "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." They have all along considered the standing, lasting, and indespensable ordinance of the gospel to be, the manifestation of the Saviour by his Spirit, as the Guide into *all* truth; according to the whole tenor of the 14th chapter of John, and likewise that language of the Apostle to the Hebrews:—"Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation." Chap. ix. ver. 28. See *Appendix*, GG. This Society has therefore deemed it essential to know the reality of the presence of Christ dwelling in their hearts by faith; and has judged it in the highest degree needful, to love and wait for his appearing and counsel, to bow the neck to his yoke, and to commit themselves in all things most unreservedly to his leadings. In this way they believe it was, that our blessed Redeemer engaged to manifest himself unto those, and make his abode with them, who should keep his commandments; and thus also it is, that such who do his will are given to know of his doctrine. For, of the Spirit of Truth, which "teacheth" the believers "all things," our Lord himself declared,—"*He* shall testify of *me*"—"*He* shall glorify *me*." John, xv. 26, and xvi. 14. This remains to be a chief test or proof of discipleship; insomuch, that, if we have not the Spirit of Christ, we are none of his, Rom. viii. 9. This also is the only channel, whereby we may savingly believe or confess him; for—"Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God," and "hath the Witness in himself;" and again, seeing, "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost," "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God." 1 John, v. 1, and 10; 1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 John, iv. 15. See *Appendix*, HH.

It may be freely and with thankfulness admitted, that such a scriptural acknowledgment as the forego-

ing, does not by any means exclusively belong to those of one particular class or persuasion; but has ever been, though with various degrees of clearness, substantially and virtually the experience of a cloud of witnesses, through every age of the church. And while there seems room to hope, that these practical yet momentous views of doctrinal truth, have been of late more distinctly avowed and more duly appreciated by the generality of religious professors; still, even among the worthiest of these, abundant occasion remains, to sigh for a further clearing of the ancient primitive ground; that so the doctrine of the Spirit might be, in many respects, more consistently upheld, more particularly applied, more fully followed out into its legitimate and genuine bearings. Can there be a doubt, that the more closely the churches of Christ have been ingrafted into Him, the Vine of Life, the more they have participated in all those blessed privileges provided for them? and have they not uniformly found the less need, as well as the less liberty, for the intervention and use of human props, human shackles, human rudiments? Nor is it derogatory to the scope and character of the Sacred Page, or the merciful designs of its Divine Author, to believe,—that, were the various Christian denominations more thoroughly disentangled from these things, were they to "cease from man" and "the commandments of men," implicitly and disinterestedly following on to know the Lord,—following "the Lamb whithersoever he goeth;"—they would come to witness, in a marvellous manner, "his going forth" to be "prepared as the morning," and his coming in among them, even "as the rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth." Their glorious Lawgiver, and Judge, and King would also be in the midst of Zion, the city of their solemnities,—the "quiet habitation,"—as "a place of broad rivers and streams," wherein should go "no galley with oars, neither gallant ship pass thereby." Isai. xxxiii. 20, 21.

With regard to the Society of Friends, whose his-

tory in a corner of the land has been now portrayed, they have been cordially willing, to own in their place, all such as these,—that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and are following him in the regeneration.—"We have ever had" says Alexander Skene, one of the subjects of these Memoirs, "a reverent esteem of all faithful ministers, who in simplicity and sincerity of heart have endeavoured to preach the gospel; though in many things short of those blessed discoveries which God hath manifested to us. And we do remember those that were such with due respect, as having been faithful according to measure in their day, and blessed instruments in God's hand to the good of many. But, it is not the duty of any Christian to stand still, and shut out all further discovery than that to which they attained. For, as all the degrees of the apostacy came not at once, nor with the first or second trumpet, Rev. viii.; so, neither is the reformation to be completed by the first or second vial, Rev. xvi." Again, George Keith, another of the Friends in Scotland, at a time when he was much respected among his brethren, had this record to bear concerning some who preceded them.—"There have been holy and spiritual men in the Presbyterian Church, that have in a blessed measure known communion with God in spirit, and were faithful in the talents given them of God: I believe their souls are entered into everlasting rest, and their memory is as a box of precious ointment, among others of the Lord's witnesses in [different] professions and places of the world."

So that, whatever disposition may appear to have existed, on the part of the first preachers among the people termed "Quakers," towards the various denominations then prevalent around them; it is certain, their controversy was not with the tender, teachable disciples of a crucified Saviour, but rather with the "man of sin," the deceiver, and antichrist, in his various transformations among men. He had obtained a

strong hold in many hearts, by persuading them, that they were secure from delusion, because they possessed the specious charge of a high profession—even an appropriation of the experiences, with an intimation of the performances, of the saints. In this state had he too successfully endeavoured to settle the minds of people, not a few of whom had once truly "tasted that the Lord is gracious,"—who had "begun" well "in the Spirit," and in the "newness of life."

It was this view, which led William Penn, among a multitude of other writers and preachers, to give forth such a paragraph as the following, which appears in his piece, entitled "The Christian Quaker:"——"He is as well taught to deny the religions, as cares and pleasures of the world: Such as profess religion from what they have either been taught by others, or read and gathered after their carnal minds out of the Scriptures, intruding into the practices of either prophets or apostles, as to external and shadowy things, not being led by the same power they had, he can have no fellowship with:—he counts all such faith and worship the imagination of men, or a mere lifeless imitation. He prefers one sigh, begotten from a sense of God's work in the heart, beyond the longest prayers in that state. He leaves them all, walks as a man alone, fearing to offer God a sacrifice that is not of his own preparing. He charges all other faiths and worships, with insufficiency, and mere creaturely power, which are not held and performed from a holy conviction and preparation by the Angel of God, the Light of his presence in the heart and conscience. Therefore, it is, that he goes forth in the strength of his God against the merchants of Babylon; and woes and plagues are rightly in his mouth against those buyers and sellers of the souls of men. He is jealous for the name of the Lord, and therefore dares not speak peace unto them, neither can he put into their mouths, but testifies against all such ways. Freely he received, freely he gives."—Penn's Works, fol. vol. i. p. 587.

It is important, that the views of this Society, at its earliest period, with regard to what may be styled, the day of reformation and the true sons of reform, should clearly be understood; and therefore three additional extracts, somewhat simplified in the form of of expression, shall be subjoined, from distinguished authorities among them.—In the first of Robert Barclay's Works, published in the year 1670, when he was but 22 years of age, this explicit statement appears.—"God does not frequently discover his will to his children all at once, nor in an instant lead them thoroughly out of things [from] which they are to come; and yet, that he countenances them in their travel, cannot be denied. Did not the Lord countenance Cornelius, before Peter came unto him? Acts, x. 4. And yet this was no argument, that Cornelius should not own the apostles and Christians. And did not the Lord countenance the disciples, when they were following him, though even [then] they were ignorant of many things, and in some things [were] wrong? And did not the Lord countenance Luther, in his testimony against the Pope, as well in the first as in the last steps of it; although it appears, that when he first began to preach against indulgencies, he did not intend such a thing as afterward followed. But things opened more and more before him, till they came to that period to which they were brought before his death. And who will say, that God did not countenance him from the beginning, whilst he held many things, which [afterward] he himself came to see were wrong? The like may be said of John Huss, and others." R. B.'s Works, fol. p. 5.—Again, in his "Apology," he has this language:—"The great apostacy came not upon the Christian world all at once, but by several degrees, one thing making way for another; until that thick and gross veil came to be overspread, wherewith the nations were so blindly covered, from the 7th or 8th until the 16th century. Even as the darkness of the night comes not upon the

outward creation all at once, but by degrees, according as the sun declines in each horizon. So, neither did that full and clear light and knowledge of the glorious dispensation of the gospel of Christ, appear all at once; the work of the first witnesses being more to testify against and discover the abuses of the apostacy, than to establish the Truth in purity. He that comes to build a new city, must first remove the old rubbish, before he can see to lay a new foundation; and he that comes to a house greatly polluted and full of dirt, will first sweep away and remove the filth, before he put up his own good and new furniture. The dawning of the day dispels the darkness, and makes us see the things that are most conspicuous; but the distinct discovering and discerning of things, so as to make a certain and perfect observation, is reserved for the arising of the sun, and its shining in full brightness. And we can from a certain experience boldly affirm, that the not waiting for this, but building among, yea, and with, the old Popish rubbish, and setting up before a full purgation, hath been to most Protestants the foundation of many a mistake, and an occasion of unspeakable hurt." Prop. 5 and 6, sect, 10.

But Penington enters yet more into particulars in the succeeding pages, taken from "An Answer to the Objection, That the Quakers condemn all but themselves:" first printed in the 1760.—"The Protestant churches, the blessed martyrs, who suffered for the testimony of a pure conscience towards God, and all the worthies of the Lord in their several generations, who fought against 'the scarlet whore,' were accepted of God in their testimony against her, and are not disowned by us, but dearly owned and honoured therein. ——But all things were not discovered at once. The times were then dark, and the light small; yet they being faithful according to what was discovered, were precious in the Lord's eyes; and what through ignorance they erred in, the Lord winked at and overlooked, being pleased with that sincerity and simplicity of

heart, which he had stirred up in them towards himself. But if they were now alive in these our days, and should depart from the sincerity which was then in them, and oppose the light of this age, they would not then be accepted of the Lord; but their former sincerity would be forgotten. For the light shineth more and more towards the perfect day: and it is not the owning of the light as it shone in the foregoing ages, which will now commend any man to God; but the knowing and [being] subject to the light of the present age. Even as, in these our days, there was, some years ago, an honest and true simplicity stirring in the Puritans, especially among the Nonconformists, which was of the Lord, and was very dear to him. And had the generations of this age abode there, they would have been able to have followed the Lord in every further step and leading of his Spirit. But departing from that, into some form or other, the true simplicity withered, and another thing began to live in them; and so they settled upon their lees, magnifying the form they had chose to themselves, till at length their hearts became hardened from the pure fear, even to the contracting of a spirit of profaneness; insomuch, that they could mock at the next remove and discovery of the Spirit, as some new light; and so, by degrees have grown persecutors of that Spirit in its outgoings in the people of the Lord, which they themselves had once some taste of, while they were reproached for being Puritans. And the god of this world, who at first tempted them aside into the form, hath at length prevailed so far to blind them therewith, that they can neither see what spirit they themselves are of, nor what spirit it is they persecute. ——If there be any among the Episcopal sort, that in truth of heart desire to fear the Lord, and look upon the Common Prayer Book as an acceptable way of worshipping him; we pity their blindness, yet are tender towards them, and would not have the simplicity persecuted in them because of this, but rather

cherished. If there be any among the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Seekers, or any other sort, that in truth of heart wait upon the Lord in those ways, and do not find a deadness overgrown them, but a pure, fresh, lively zeal towards God, with an unfeigned love to his people,—our hearts are one with this. And we cannot fight against this good thing in any of them; though in love to them we testify, that their form and way of worship is their present loss and hinderance. Yet, we doubt not, but that the Lord in his time will make manifest to such the light of this age." See his Works, oct. edit. vol. ii. p. 149, &c.

While it may be readily conceded, with a late writer, that "it is not wonderful, the views of the Puritans on many subjects were imperfect; but rather surprising, that they saw so much, and that, with those views, that were able so boldly to contend for what they believed to be the cause of God:"—(Orme's Life of Owen, p. 6,)—yet is there reason to believe, on the other hand, that Penington's description of their declining state, as given above, was strictly appropriate; and that they did not retain that tender, teachable, and humble spirit, which at an early period so strikingly characterised many of their number.

It would scarcely be excusable to pass by, on this occasion, that memorable and comprehensive language used by John Robinson, one of the primitive pastors among the Independents, on taking leave of his congregation about the year 1620, as mentioned in Neal's History of the Puritans.—"I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for, I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the con-

dition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our great God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember it, it is an article of your church covenant, That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant: But I must herewith exhort you, to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible, the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

But, whoever, with unprejudiced eyes, looks into the best estate, and brightest transactions of the different periods of reformation in the church, (taking this term in an enlarged sense,) must perceive,—that the views, and hopes, and prayers of the most godly, have uniformly verged onward towards a purer standard, both of doctrine, discipline, and general practice, than that to which, under those obstructions attendant, they themselves were enabled to bring their followers. Accordingly, we find, that even the writings of many such, among the "Established Church of England," have, as is well known, been frequently adduced by the different classes of Dissenters from that body, in confirmation of the several occasions of

their dissent. Authors of some note, also, under our own name, have made considerable use of such testimony, in setting forth the necessity for a still greater remove, from the precincts, and approaches, and backways to Babylon. And it is believed, that much more might in this line be produced, tending to place in strong light the sentiment with which the present chapter was opened: namely, that the Society of Friends have travelled along in the footsteps, and as successors of the earlier servants of Christ; and have believed themselves raised up to bear a faithful and clear witness to the simplicity, perfection, and spirituality of his holy religion.

And, as the time drew on, when these people began to be discernible throughout these kingdoms, in the shape of a gathered church, during the unsettlement, both in political and religious affairs, has not the impartial reader observed, (even if altogether unacquainted with collateral evidence of a similar description,) what hunger and thirst after a growth in righteousness very generally prevailed. On all hands the inquiry was excited, after the more perfect discovery of a knowledge of the Truth; thousands of awakened and prepared spirits were reaching forth unto those things of the kingdom of God, which were before, and which many of them believed, were about to "break forth as the morning." Every journal of the experience of individuals, who at this crisis entered into communion with the Friends, gives ample proof —to go no further—as to the existence of numerous classes of seeking, waiting souls; who longed, not only for deliverance from the bondage of sin, but from the thraldom of unavailing speculation, and from the commandments and traditions of men. The very names, which were given, often in contempt, to the various parties who separated by turns from each other, in some degree betoken the presence of that leaven, which was at work underneath, in the minds of many, notwithstanding all the conflicting elements

and confused heaps, that lay upon it. On this subject, the small publication, well known to the Society of Friends, which William Penn entitles "A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," may be consulted with advantage; as conveying no unappropriate epitome of the ground successively taken by those under various religious denominations, whose origin preceded that of our own: but our historians, Gough and Rutty, having both made use of copious extracts in their introductions, it becomes the less needful here to recur to it.

The Author of the present volume, has thus, in the conclusion of it, attempted, however inadequately, to set down some observations, which have been often present with him, while pursuing his interesting engagement. They have reference, chiefly, to the condition of the living, baptized believers in our holy Redeemer, since the time when first a door of degeneracy was opened amongst them. In the course of these remarks, he has adverted, somewhat, to the occasion of all well-grounded revival or reform in religion—an inward sense of deficiency, and of departure from the true gospel standard, testified of in the Sacred Oracles. He has also briefly thrown out the view, so strongly entertained by those, whose history he has been tracing,—that Protestants in general have, in a lamentable degree, fallen short of that path of perfect reformation, which, he cannot doubt, would have been long since cast up before them, had they more entirely yielded themselves to the disposal of the Bishop of souls, unfettered by the bias of mere creaturely constructions and contrivance. And further, he has shown, that, when those individuals, afterward designated "Quakers," were drawn away from all other forms of worship, systems of faith, and modes of practice, so as to originate in these kingdoms a distinct people;—this circumstance purely arose out of a most deep conviction, on their parts, of the essential reality of such views,—from a fervent desire after that all-important attainment—even to be "built up,

an habitation of God, through the Spirit." They undoubtedly believed themselves called upon, in awful humility of mind, and with a just sense of the privileges bestowed upon preceding generations, to go further in this glorious work, even beyond all other "sons of the morning," to take higher ground than that, which was held out by the highest in religious profession around them. This being the case, it is by no means a very unnatural assumption to take up, that, while other Christian denominations continue at the point where they have even now arrived, and we ourselves are favoured to keep that which is still committed to us, (unworthy as we are,)—there is great probability, a testimony such as this, to the spiritual standard of the gospel, will not altogether cease, or be suffered utterly to fail.

The Society of Friends, when bowed in gratitude before the Lord, in a view of the extent of his long-suffering loving-kindness and faithfulness towards them, can surely do no other than hold themselves most deeply responsible, for that station they are called upon to occupy in the ranks of the army of the Lamb. And whatever this station may actually have been, or may yet be, whether in the van or in the rear, whether among the reserved corps, or as an advanced guard in extending the limits of his sway; it is enough for them—without yielding to that curiosity reproved in one of old, who asked his Lord, "And what shall this man do?"—simply, but fervently, to seek to know their own allotment of service and and of suffering in the universal family of God; and, by keeping within the range of his leadings, to the work of their day, in this manner to evince their allegiance, and give him glory.

Another subject, touched upon in the course of the present observations, as forming a prominent feature in the character of those principles, maintained by this religious community from their earliest appearance, is—that latitude of feeling towards, that hope-

ful and tender perception of, the least dawnings of good in others. The writer of these pages trusts he has sufficiently proved—and he wishes again to confirm the assertion—how desirous they have always been, to cherish a real esteem for all those, who, by straight though ever so feeble steppings in the line of heavenly guidance, are contributing to "prepare the way" of the Lord, whether among their own class or amongst others; and thus to "take up the stumbling-block out of the way" of his people. They must continue to approve and own the symptoms and proceedings of Christ's Spirit wherever discoverable—divested, indeed, of that mass of adulterations and superadditions, which the will and wisdom of the natural man, in league with the cunning of our restless adversary, has ever sought to mix in with them. So far, then, from deprecating, we cannot but hail every, the least effort, which those who fear God have made, toward the restoration of primitive Christianity,—that is, wherever we can believe this to have been purely under the conduct of the grace of Jesus. With such an understanding, we are most cordially in unison with,—first, the ancient Evangelical spirit, in its day; the true Catholic spirit, in its day; the zealous Reforming spirit, in its day; the Puritan spirit; the Nonconforming spirit, of every kind, in its best and lowly estate. While, on the other hand, our objection continues to be, as it ever has been, to traditions and injunctions of men, not authorised by the counsels of Truth; to forms and modes, notions and observances, which,—while the Spirit of Truth hath tenderly borne with, sweetly owning the integrity of those who used them—that heavenly Counsellor himself never prescribed or appointed. Nay; doth not the controversy of this people lie still deeper?—is it not consistent with their apprehensions of duty, even to "turn away" from such as are settled in the very "form of godliness" itself, should these deny that power, which alone can preserve alive, in the acceptable use of any of the ordinances of God?

APPENDIX.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE MEMOIRS.

Note A.—Page 24.

A person of some note, who had been an officer under Oliver Cromwell, related to James Wilson the following anecdote.—"After the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed, at some distance from the road, a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest; upon which I sent one of my men to see, and bring me word, what was the meaning of this gathering. And seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who staid in like manner; and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy, as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler, than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect, but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies, without being able to help ourselves. I clearly saw the cross to be submitted to; so I durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried condemnation for it in my own breast. The people there, in the clear and powerful opening of their states, cried out against themselves, imploring mercy, a thorough change, and the whole work of salvation to be effected in them."—See J. Gough's Journal.

Note B.—Page 25.

Extract from Memoirs of the Life of Stephen Crisp, 1824, p. 53.——"About the year 1659, I often felt the aboundings of the love of God in my heart; and a cry, to stand given up to his will;—which I thought I was, not

knowing or foreseeing what the Lord was intending to do with me; but his eye saw further than mine. This love, and tenderness, and bowels of compassion wrought so in me, that it extended even to all men on the whole face of the earth, so that I cried in spirit, Oh, that all men knew Thee and thy goodness! And, upon a time, as I was waiting upon the Lord, his word arose in me, and commanded me to forsake and part with my dear wife and children, father and mother, and to go and bear witness to his name in Scotland, to that high professing nation."—"Oh! how I would have pleaded my own inability, the care of my family, my service in that particular meeting, and many more things; and all, that I might have been excused from this one thing which was come upon me, that I thought not of, or looked not for. But after many reasonings, days and weeks by myself, I thought it best to speak of it to some of the faithful elders and ministers of the everlasting gospel; not knowing but they might discourage me, and something there was which hoped it, but contrarily, they encouraged me, and laid it upon me to be faithful. So then I gave up, and acquainted my dear wife therewith, which began me a new exercise, the enemy working in her strongly to stop me. But, in much patience was I kept, and in quietness; and went and visited Friends' meetings about Essex, and part of Suffolk, chiefly to see them, and to take my leave of them; and in some meetings the Lord would open my mouth in a few words to the refreshing of Friends; but I rather chose silence, when I might so. The winter drew nigh, and something would have deferred it till next summer; but the Lord showed me, it was not to be my time, but his time. Then, I would have gone by sea; but the Lord withstood me, and showed me, it must not be my way, but his way; and if I would be obedient, he would be with me and prosper my journey, otherwise his hand would strike me. So I gave up all; and pretty much with cheerfulness, at last, I obeyed; and about the end of the 7th month [old style] I went forth, and visited the churches of Christ.

"As I went along in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, I quickly perceived, that the Lord was with me, more than at other times; and my journey became joyful, and the

more so, in that though I were but weak, poor, and low, yet God gave me acceptance among the elders of his people; and, in every place, my testimony was owned, and divers were convinced of the everlasting Truth: then I marvelled, and said, Lord! the glory alone belongs to thee, for thou hast wrought wonders for thy name's sake, and for thy holy seed's sake. I got into Scotland in the 9th month that year, and travelled to and fro that winter on foot with cheerfulness. Many straits and difficulties attended me, which I forbear to mention; it being the time of the motion of the English and Scottish armies, upon which succeeded the revolution of government, and the bringing back of King Charles the 2nd into England. Well, about the 11th or 12th month I returned, and travelled into the west, to Westmoreland, part of Lancashire, and so up to the southward; and in about five or six months' time, was, by the good hand of God, brought home to my wife, and children, and relations; in all my journey having been sweetly accompanied with the presence of the Lord; and his power often filled my earthen vessel, and made my cup to overflow; praises for ever be to his name! saith my soul."

Note C.—Page 26.

In explanation of the use of the term "steeple-houses" in this paragraph, readers not connected with the Society of Friends, are referred to the following note which occurs in "Select Anecdotes," &c. illustrative of their sentiments and conduct, by the author of the present volume.

"It seems scarcely needful to remark, that the word 'church' is in Holy Scriptures never applied to an outward temple or building, but to a company of believers, whether generally or particularly. A Friend being interrogated by a bishop, Why he did not go to church? replied, 'I do go to church; and sometimes the church comes to me.' See 1 Cor. xvi. 19, Col. iv. 14, and Philem. 2. Thus the use of this term appears to have crept in among Christians, and with it a superstitious consecration of those places, as possessing some latent quality, not affecting other works of art or nature. To this, Stephen the martyr evidently alluded, when he said, 'Howbeit, the Most High dwelleth

not in temples made with hands,' &c. Acts, vii. 48. The term 'steeple-house' not unfrequently occurs in the early writings and records of Friends. It may sound harsh to most ears, if it does not seem to savour of the scurrility and intolerance of that zealous age: yet the reader may be assured, that this, or any other mode of speech adopted among us as a people, was by no means taken up for the purpose of opprobrium, but rather significantly to discover the little veneration or distinction they could show for these buildings, more than for their own habitations;—they believing, that the Almighty is equally present every where, to bless and to sanctify every place and every thing to those that walk uprightly on the earth—his footstool." p. 185.

NOTE D.—Page 28.

Elizabeth Goodall has been already thus briefly mentioned by Jaffray in his Diary, p. 126,—"that gracious woman, Elsinet Smith." Some readers may not be aware, that the married woman in Scotland usually retained her maiden name. Elsinet and Elspit are concluded to be Scottish variations of Elizabeth. In the Records of the Society of Friends at Aberdeen, this minute appears on occasion of her death.—"Upon the 21st day of the 12th month, 1691-2, it pleased the Lord to remove from the visible [church,] our dear and ancient Friend, Elspit Smith, relict of Andrew Goodall, who was one of the first gathered hereaway, an honest and serious woman, whose body was peaceably and honourably buried in Friends' burial-ground in this city on the 23d day:—The Lord having given his children victory over that wicked and inhuman spirit, that so often and long stopped our burials and raised our dead; [so] that now they are as peaceable and quiet as any other, and attended with many people and the magistrates of the city." This last passage will be explained in the course of the history.

NOTE E.—Page 29.

John Boccold, a tailor of Leyden, leader of a mob, who, entertaining wild notions about liberty and equality, possessed themselves of Munster in Westphalia, about the year 1535. The inhabitants of the Low Countries joined

him, and Munster became in their imagination Mount Zion, and this man fancied he was called to sit on the throne of David. His fanaticism was connected with the most unrestrained licentiousness and extravagant conduct. Mann's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History and Nonconformity. p. 225.

Note F.—Page 31.

Doubtless, it was in allusion to such instances as this of George Gray, that Robert Barclay thus speaks: "If in any age since the apostles' days, God hath purposed to show his power by weak instruments, for the battering down of that carnal and heathenish wisdom, and restoring again the ancient simplicity of Truth, this is it. For, in our day, God hath raised up witnesses for himself, as he did fishermen of old; many, yea, most of whom are labouring and mechanic men: who, although without that learning, have by the power and Spirit of God struck at the very root and ground of Babylon; and in the strength and might of this power, have, by reaching their consciences, gathered thousands into the same power and life, who, as to the outward part, have been far more knowing than they, yet not able to resist the virtue that proceeded from them. Of [this] I myself am a true witness, and can declare from a certain experience, because my heart hath been often greatly broken and tendered by that virtuous life, that hath proceeded from the powerful ministry of those illiterate men: so that by their very countenance, as well as words, I have felt the evil in me often chained down, and the good reached to and raised. What shall I then say to you, who are lovers of learning and admirers of knowledge? Was not I also a lover and admirer of it, who also sought after it according to my age and capacity? But it pleased God in his unutterable love, early to withstand my vain endeavours, while I was yet but eighteen years of age; and made me seriously to consider, (which I wish also may befall others,) that without holiness no man can see God, and that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to depart from iniquity a good understanding; and how much knowledge puffeth up, and leadeth away from that inward quietness, stillness, and humility of mind, where

the Lord appears and his heavenly wisdom is revealed. If ye consider these things, then will ye say with me, that all this learning, wisdom, and knowledge, gathered in this fallen nature, is but as dross and dung in comparison of the cross of Christ; especially being destitute of that power, life, and virtue, which I perceived these excellent (though despised, because illiterate) witnesses of God to be filled with. And therefore, seeing that in and among them I, with many others, have found the heavenly food that gives contentment, let my soul seek after this learning, and wait for it for ever! Barclay's Works, fol. p. 426, or Apology, Prop. 10, sect. 23.

Note G.—Page 34.

Respecting the persecution of the Scottish Presbyterians, between the time of the Restoration and the Revolution, Cruickshank, their historian, in his preface has this comprehensive language.—"Many were exorbitantly fined, unjustly imprisoned, oppressed by soldiers, plundered by dragoons and a lawless Highland host. Multitudes were forced to wander about in dens and caves of the earth. Not a few were tortured by boots, thumbkins, firematches, &c. Some were beheaded, others were hanged and quartered; women as well as men, suffered death; some of them were hanged, and others drowned; prisons were crowded and ships were loaded with prisoners, who were banished from their native country, of whom many perished," &c. &c. It is much to be regretted, that this class of Protestants, do not appear as a body, to have been sensible of the imperative duty there is upon Christians, when they are called to suffer, not to resist the evil, nor even to threaten evil, but to commit themselves and their cause to His keeping, who ruleth "the raging of the sea," and ever sustains his children that trust in Him alone. Certainly, by adopting another course, the Covenanters obscured the brightness of their testimony, and provoked their enemies, instead of heaping "coals of fire" on their heads.

Cave, in his "Primitive Christianity," has this passage relative to the conduct of the first followers of our blessed Lord: it is deemed particularly worthy the attention of

the reader, before he enters upon the narrative of the persecution of the Friends in Scotland.

"And if they did not run away from suffering, much less did they oppose it, and make tumults and parties to defend themselves; no, they were led as lambs to the slaughter, and as sheep before the shearers are dumb, so opened not they their mouth, but committed their cause to Him who judgeth righteously, and who has said, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it. None of us, says Cyprian to the Governor, when apprehended, makes resistance: nor, though our party be large and numerous, revenges himself for that unjust violence that you offer to us. We patiently acquiesce in the assurance of a future vengeance; the innocent truckle under the unrighteous, the guiltless quietly submit to pains and tortures; knowing for certain, that whatever we now suffer, shall not remain unpunished; and that the greater the injury that is done us in these persecutions we endure, the more just and heavy will be that vengeance that will follow it. Never was any wicked attempt made against Christians, but a divine vengeance was seen at the heels of it." 3rd edit. p. 175.

Note H.—Page 34.

The following is a brief outline of the career of George Keith, whose name does not often appear prominent in these Memoirs: it is principally abstracted from the supplement to the last edition to Thomas Ellwood's Life.

George Keith was educated in the Presbyterian Church, was a man of talent and learning, and had obtained the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Aberdeen, the place of his nativity. During a period of about thirty years, he had been a public and zealous advocate of the principles held by Friends; but becoming one of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania, after residing there about ten years, he was the means of aggravating by a religious schism, the political differences which then agitated that infant colony. He had imbibed notions subversive of all social order, which led him to conduct himself with great disrespect towards the civil authorities in the state; and rendered him dissatisfied also with those wholesome restraints, which the Society in its church discipline enjoins

upon its members. Not stopping here, he opposed and ridiculed some of those very doctrines and practices, in support of which, he had both written, preached, and suffered: at length, having formed a separate congregation, they assumed the denomination of Christian Quakers. His adherents, however, gradually forsook him, perceiving that his religious tenets were fast verging towards those of the "Established Church of England." He actually obtained the living of Elburton parish in Sussex, where he ended his days in the year 1715, maintaining nearly, if not quite, to the last, a violent opposition against the Friends and their principles.

The following affectingly interesting letter, was addressed by the Friends at Aberdeen to George Keith and his wife Elizabeth, not long after the former had discovered sentiments, at variance with those of the Society. Elizabeth's maiden name was Johnston; of whom honourable mention has been made, among others of the earliest supporters of this cause and people.

"Our ancient Friends, George and Elizabeth Keith!

"What love and respect hath, and doth all along live in our hearts to you both, we shall leave to Him that best knoweth our hearts,—as to those, whom the Lord made eminently instrumental in your several stations, to build up his church and people hereaway in love and unity, in the most holy faith, upon that sure foundation, Christ within, our 'hope of glory:'—and also, the one of you so valiantly to defend the principles of this holy Truth against its opposers, to the confounding of them. And [it] rejoiced the hearts of God's children, in seeing, (by his precious gifts of understanding and opening the mysteries of this glorious gospel and inward treasures thereof,) the universal, free love of God to all mankind, to be so excellently demonstrated both from Scripture, inward experience, and testimonies of many sorts;—especially by these two excellent treatises of 'Immediate Revelation,' and 'The Universal Light or free grace of God asserted,' &c. And how glad should our hearts have been, to have found thee, George, going on, as moved thereunto, to improve thy talents, which the Lord hath liberally given thee, for

further spreading the beauty, fame, excellency, and loveliness of this precious, inward plant of renown; and so edifying, comforting, and strengthening the flocks of Christ, as in pastures of love, that the beauty of the love of brethren in unity might flow as sweet ointment, to make the lamp of Truth shine with lustre throughout the world,—as in due time we believe it shall.

"But with what grieved and bowed down hearts and spirits we first heard, and afterward came to see, that to be published by thee, and some others joined with thee, which, (as is found in the very entry of one of the treatises) will grieve the honest-hearted, and make the uncircumcised rejoice, and say, 'Ah! so would we have it:—they, yea, the chief champions among them, are now confessing what their enemies preached, That there are as great errors among them, called Quakers, as among other people,—and particularly [thy] undervaluing the outward appearance and sufferings of the Son of God, and not [being] sound about the resurrection. O George! bear with us in love, for we can say, it is in tender breakings of heart we utter it, and in tender breathings for thee,—that if that sweet, healing, meek, self-denying spirit of lowly Jesus had been kept and abode in, your breaches thereaway would have been handled after another manner; and such a sad occasion to amuse the world, sadden the hearts of God's children, and rejoice the enemies of Zion's peace and prosperity, had never been told in Gath, nor published in Askelon. Though we doubt not, but there have been provocations on both sides, (and we own the errors of none,) yet we must say, that that bitter, rending, forward spirit, that would publish so hastily to the world such sad tidings, was not of God: and as for our spreading the books, or accounts thereof, we are in no wise free thereunto. Blessed be the Lord our God! though we be but a few in number, yet love, unity, and peace, is in a measure among us; and our esteem of the most precious, saving, sufficient Light and grace of Christ within, the hope of glory, is rather growing than diminishing among the faithful; and we know assuredly, all in every nation that fear God, (who is Light) and work righteousness, are, and shall be accepted

of him; and no more is required of any, than he gives them, though ignorant as to [the] outward.

"So, our dear and ancient Friends, we earnestly desire you to receive in a right mind our innocent freedom and love; and, in the cool of the day, go forth again with your brethren into the ancient green pastures of love, and to the leading springs of life: giving up to fire and sword that which is for it; so the first and the last works shall be precious together; then 'righteousness and peace shall kiss each other:' And we can say, (appealing to the Lord our God, the searcher of hearts,) our joy shall be great, to hear that the sweet, healing, and uniting life hath, or shall make up all these breaches in Israel's camp, by all of us submitting to it, and the true judgment thereof in his church; and, in this sweet ancient spring of our Father's love, wherein we have often been sweetly refreshed together many years ago, shall we truly rejoice to hear from you, and also to see your faces,—who remain your true Friends and well-wishers.

"Aberdeen, 23rd of 3rd month, 1694."

Gough, in his History of Friends, states his reasons for supposing that George Keith was favoured, particularly near his latter end, with seasons of serious reflection; wherein, he viewed the peaceful state of his mind, whilst in unity and peace with the "Quakers" as brethren, and felt remorse under the loss of it. On one occasion, as he lay ill on his death-bed, he was visited by Richard Hayler of Sussex; and, among other things that passed, he expressed himself in these words,—"I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then, I am sure, it would have been well with my soul." Vol. iii. p. 452, and vol. iv. p. 147. At the latter page, this author closes his narrative with some weighty cautions, adapted especially to the gifted members of this, or indeed of any religious body,—to beware of an exalted spirit.

The reflections, likewise, made in their Journals, by two highly respectable members of the Society, who were cotemporary with George Keith, deserves the attention of those who read his history. The first occurs in the Memoirs of John Whiting, p. 496.

"I would not say, as some are apt, when any fall away, that they were never right, for a righteous man may turn from his righteousness; knowing by his writings, that he had a true convincement and work of God upon him; and was enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, and of the powers of the world to come; as his 'Help in time of need,' 'his Immediate Revelation,' 'The Benefit, Advantage, and Glory of Silent Meetings,' with several others of his writings, do show: and he was serviceable with Robert Barclay in some controversies in defence of the Truth, and in some others, and [was] valued for his gifts, while he used them in humility and subserviency to the Truth."—John Richardson winds up a narrative of many pages, with these important observations.—"This account carries in it an admonition to us, and to Friends in future ages, into whose hands it may come, to beware of letting in the spirit of envy, prejudice and pride of heart, which I clearly saw was that which, with too much leaning to his natural abilities and learning, was his overthrow; he not keeping to the Lord's Holy Spirit, the Life and strength of his faithful people, and the key of true knowledge, the good remembrancer, and leader into all truth, which the Lord sees meet in his wisdom to open and lead us into. Without the help of this anointing and Holy Spirit, we are apt to be cold and forgetful in our duties towards God, and also in our love and duties one to another. But, as the measure of this spirit is faithfully kept to and improved, we grow more and more fruitful in every good work and word, to the glory of God and comfort of our own souls; and as the salt of the earth, help to season those who are not seasoned." J. Richardson's Life, p. 130.

Note I.—Page 47.

William Dell, whose name has been already introduced in the earlier part of this Work, as a writer gifted with no ordinary insight into the spiritual character of the kingdom of Christ, at the close of his preface to a treatise on "The Doctrine of Baptisms," has these following remarkable words.—"But because I see this present generation so rooted and built up in the doctrines of men, I have the

less hope that this truth [respecting the one saving baptism of Christ] will prevail with them; and therefore I appeal to the next generation, which will be further removed from these evils, and will be brought nearer to the word; but especially to that people whom God hath and shall form by his Spirit for himself,—for these only will be able to make just and righteous judgment in this matter, seeing they have the Anointing to be their teacher, and the Lamb to be their Light." And in the very conclusion of the same piece, after having fully wound up his subject, and as it were laid down the pen, he resumes it, to introduce this isolated sentence:—"Isaiah, lviii. 12. 'And they that shall be of thee,'—that is," says he, "of the church that is born of the Spirit—'shall build the old waste places,'—made such by the church that is born of the flesh—'thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations,'—by the clear revealing of Christ, his kingdom, and all his things, according to the ministration of the Spirit—'and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in.' Here Christ writes upon the forementioned church his own new name." To what shall we attribute the peculiar congeniality and oneness of religious perception on this precise point, thus manifested in the latter expressions of Dell, and in those of Jaffray to which this Note is attached?—may it not be said, that these men were taught in the same school, were "baptised by one Spirit?"

Note J.—Page 48.

On the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland in 1662, many of the ejected Presbyterian ministers, who were banished by order of the King's Council, sought an asylum "beyond the sea" in Holland. The Notes to the Diary, at pages 191, 221, 222, 223, show that several of the former associates of Jaffray were among this number; and it is clear by this last paragraph of the "Word of Exhortation," how expressly his solicitude is directed towards that class.

Note K.—Page 49.

The following quotation from a writer well approved

among the Society, will, it is hoped, throw some light upon this subject. "At the first appearance of this people, several of them thought it their duty to go to the public places of worship, to declare to the priests or people 'the burden of the word' on their minds; mostly waiting till their worship was ended, and then delivering or attempting to deliver their sentiments in quietness, and in as few words as possible, for which they were often treated with great violence and outrage. And to palliate such treatment, irreconcilable to the professed purity of this period, or to the good order of civil society, great pains have been taken to describe their conduct in terms of aggravation to a heinous offence, and at this day may seem to deserve censure. Let us take a retrospective view of the manners and principles of that age, and I think we may find some cause of excuse for their seeming intrusion.

"This people were not single, at that time, in their sentiments concerning the gospel liberty of prophesying; but the Independents as well as the Baptists adopted the opinion, that the ordained ministers or pastors had not, by any ordination of Christ or the order observed amongst the primitive Christians, an exclusive right of speaking in the church, but that all properly gifted might speak 'one by one.' It had been, during the time of the civil war, and still continued to be, no unusual practice for laymen, soldiers, and others, to speak or preach in the public places of worship and elsewhere, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers. Oliver Cromwell, in his correspondence with the ministers of Scotland, in the year 1650, after the battle of Dunbar, vindicates the practice. Oliver, having made an offer to the ministers who had taken sanctuary in the Castle of Edinburgh or had fled, of free privilege to return to their respective parishes; the Scotch ministers, in reply, objected his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broken in upon the nation; to which Oliver answered, 'We look upon you as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people:—where do you find in Scripture, that preaching is included within your function? Though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that

hath none at all. I hope, He that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, are not you envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy? You know who hath bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the Apostle explains to be, a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort—this, the instructed, edified, and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of.'—'Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience in respect to order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it.' And in answer to the Governor's complaint, that men of secular employments had usurped the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches, he queries, 'Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Doth it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? away with the Covenant, if it be so. I thought the Covenant and these men would have been willing, that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you mention the spouse of Christ.'

"By this it appears evident, that a participation by the laity in ministerial offices, was not only allowed, but patronised by some of the leading men of that time. If then some members of this infant Society, under persuasion of duty, at times made use of the liberty allowed to others, (and to several of themselves, till they joined this Society,) to deliver a short exhortation, most generally at the close of their worship, to the people assembled, as a full opportunity to discharge their duty;—to give them contumelious and violent abuse on that account, was as contradictory to the professed principles of the Independents, and those free notions of civil and religious liberty, which they had been so active in disseminating, as [it was] to religion and the civilization boasted of;————" Gough's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 86, &c.

Note L.—Page 73.

It may be requisite to give an illustration of those numerous calumnies, represented to have been vented forth by some in that day, who stood in the character of spiritual watchmen, as Jaffray says, for the purpose of "detaining the Truth of God in unrighteousness," and keeping those who embraced it "in disgust among the people"—a practice which, it is to be feared, has not altogether ceased to exist in less flagrant forms, even among some who name the name of Christ; however lamented and abhorred such conduct must be, by all his true followers.

In the 9th month, 1666, George Meldrum, accounted one of the chief ministers of Aberdeen, preached a whole sermon expressly against the people called Quakers, full of virulence and unjust slanders, such as, if believed, would scarcely fail to excite the indignation of his hearers against them; and to secure his discourse from refutation, he actually enjoined such of his hearers as had taken it down in writing, by no means to let the Quakers have a copy of it,—as if conscious of the falseness of his statements. Not long after, church proceedings being instituted against Alexander Jaffray in order to excommunication, some of his relations, not Friends, intimated to the Bishop, that it was irregular to excommunicate an offender, before attempts had been made to reclaim him. Upon this, the Bishop himself offered to confer with Jaffray, in the presence of Meldrum and his colleague Menzies. Jaffray said, he could not yield to this, unless he were permitted to have witnesses; as these men had repeatedly misrepresented in public, what had been said to them in private; of which he could bring proof. At length, Friends being objected to, Jaffray's brother and son, not Friends, were allowed to be present; when, "the Lord remarkably assisted him in declaring the Truth," and defending himself and it against their unjust allegations; so that the Bishop charged Meldrum, to give the Friends a copy of the sermon preached against them. Instead of this, however, he sent Alexander Jaffray another paper, which he called "The state of the controversy between the Protestants and Quakers," and half a sheet containing thirty Queries for them to answer. These papers, together with

the sermon, which with much difficulty was at length procured from one of his hearers, Alexander Jaffray and George Keith readily replied to; and "it had a very good service" among their neighbours.

Note M.—Page 74.

The Queries, which were offered to the public preachers of Aberdeen by Alexander Skene, a magistrate of that city, are preceded by some very important observations of Robert Barclay, on the subject of joining with other Christian professors in worship, by external signs of concurrence. "If it were" says he, "their known and avowed doctrine, not to pray without the motion of the Spirit, and that, seriously holding thereunto, they did not bind themselves to pray at certain prescribed times precisely, (at which times they determine to pray, though without the Spirit,)—then, indeed, we might be accused of uncharitableness and pride, if we never joined with them; and if they so taught and practised, I doubt not but it should be lawful for us so to do, unless there should appear some manifest and evident hypocrisy or delusion. But seeing they profess, that they pray without the Spirit, and seeing God hath persuaded us, that such prayers are abominable, how can we with a safe conscience join with an abomination? That God sometimes condescends to them we do not deny,—(albeit, now when the spiritual worship is openly proclaimed, and all are invited unto it, the case is otherwise, than in those old times of apostacy and darkness,)—and therefore albeit any should begin to pray in our presence, not expecting the motion of the Spirit, yet, if it manifestly appear, that God in condescension did concur with such a one, then, according to God's will, we should not refuse to join also. But, this is rare; lest, thence, they should be confirmed in their false principle. And albeit this seem hard in our profession, nevertheless it is so confirmed by the authority both of Scripture and right reason, that many, convinced thereof, have embraced this part before other truths which were easier, and, as they seemed to some, clearer." Apology, Prop. xi. sect. 24. The case of Alexander Skene's convincement is then given; and his reasons for separation from those, with

whom he had been associated in religious fellowship, appear in the following Queries.

Queries on Worship by Alexander Skene. "1st. Should any act of God's worship be gone about, without the motions, leadings, and actings of the Holy Spirit? 2nd.—If the motions of the Spirit be necessary to every particular duty, whether should He be waited upon, that all our acts and words may be according as he gives utterance and assistance? 3rd.—Whether every one that bears the name of a Christian, or professes to be a Protestant, hath such an uninterrupted measure thereof, that he may, without waiting, go immediately about the duty? 4th.—If there be an indisposition and unfitness at some times for such exercises, at least as to the spiritual and lively performance of them, ought they to be performed in that case and at that time? 5th.—If any [such] duty be gone about, under pretence that it is in obedience to the external command, without the spiritual life and motion necessary, whether such a duty, thus performed, can in faith be expected to be accepted of God, and not rather reckoned as a bringing of 'strange fire' before the Lord? seeing it is performed, at best, by the strength of natural and acquired parts, and not by the strength and assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was typified by the fire, that came down from heaven, which alone behoved to consume the sacrifice, and no other. 6th.—Whether [such] duties, gone about in the mere strength of natural and acquired parts, either in public or in private, be not as really, upon the gross matter, an image of man's invention, as the Popish worship, though not so gross in the outward appearance? And therefore, whether it be not as real superstition to countenance any worship of that nature, as it is to countenance Popish worship, though there be a difference in the degree? 7th.—Whether it be a ground of offence or just scandal, to countenance the worship of those, whose professed principle it is, neither to speak for edification nor to pray, but as the Holy Ghost shall be pleased to assist them, in some measure, less or more; without which, they rather choose to be silent, than to speak without this influence?"

The tone of utter aversion and prejudice, in regard to

true spiritual worship, and the necessary preparation of soul for this solemn exercise, which was evidently held out, at this period, by the professed preachers of the gospel in Aberdeen, headed by their Bishop,—and which indeed gave ample occasion for the promulgation of the above Queries,—is the more remarkable, when contrasted with that beautifully clear stream of evangelical sentiment on this very point, given forth only about twenty years afterward, by Henry Scougal, a "professor of divinity" in the same place, and a son of the same Bishop. In his valuable treatise, entitled, "The Life of God in the Soul of Man," after reference to the promise of the Holy Spirit to those who sue for this inestimable gift, he thus proceeds. "In prayer, we make the nearest approaches to God, and lie open to the influences of heaven: then it is, that the Sun of righteousness doth visit us with his directest rays, and dissipateth our darkness, and imprinteth his image on our souls." "As there is one sort of prayer, wherein we make use of the voice,—and another wherein, though we utter no sound, yet we conceive the expressions and form the words, as it were, in our minds; so there is a third and more sublime kind of prayer, wherein the soul takes a higher flight, and having collected all its forces by long and serious meditation, it darteth itself, (if I may so speak) towards God in sighs and groans, and thoughts too big for expression. As when, after a deep contemplation of the Divine perfections, appearing in all his works of wonder, it addresseth itself unto him in the profoundest adoration of his majesty and glory:—or when, after sad reflections on its vileness and miscarriages, it prostrates itself before him with the greatest confusion and sorrow, not daring to lift up its eyes, or utter one word in his presence:—or when, having well considered the beauty of holiness, and the unspeakable felicity of those that are truly good, it panteth after God, and sendeth up such vigorous and ardent desires, as no words can sufficiently express; continuing and repeating each of these acts, as long as it finds itself upheld by the force and impulse of the previous meditation.

"This mental prayer is, of all other, the most effectual to purify the soul, and dispose it unto a holy and religious temper, and may be termed the great secret of devotion,

and one of the most powerful instruments of the divine life; and, it may be, that the Apostle hath a peculiar respect unto it, when he saith, that the Spirit helpeth our infirmities, making intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, or, as the original may bear, that cannot be worded." p. 98, 99.

Note N.—Page 75.

Of Meldrum, the historian of the church of Scotland, Cruickshank says, "This great man was remarkably useful, with his colleague, Mr. Menzies, in Aberdeen, against the Quakers and Jesuits," vol. i. p. 150. The same author, nine pages further on, has another sentence relating to the Friends, which does not seem capable of bearing a very favourable construction.—"On the 2nd of June, 1663, they made a very good act against the Quakers; but the bishops gave the council so much to do against the Presbyterian Nonconformists, that these people were suffered to rest in quiet; for they mightily increased during this reign."

The next paragraph of the Memoirs will show, that, at least the Bishop of Aberdeen, was not altogether an idle spectator of the success of this new heresy, and that by no means was he wanting in the attempt to give the King's Council some substantial work in this line of persecution, though their hands were already so full.

Note O.—Page 87.

Among the early opponents of the principles of religious order laid down in this work of Barclay's, was William Rogers, of Bristol, and his followers. Much reproach and invective was dealt out by these separatists against him; but, on a conference being held with this individual, in 1677, at Robert Barclay's request, William Rogers could not substantiate his arguments against the system, and acknowledged he had mistaken the import of these principles. Yet afterward, this man and his adherents persisted in controverting the very same views, spreading papers abroad, unknown to Robert Barclay, and personally reflecting on him; this induced the latter, to write a Vindication of his Treatise on Discipline, by way of explanation;

which, certainly, exhibits the author in an amiable point of view. See Gough's History, vol. iii. p. 16; also Barclay's Life.

An original manuscript letter on this subject, addressed by George Fox to Robert Barclay near two years after, has come into the possession of the Author of these pages, which may be worthy the perusal of Friends in the present day. It is as follows.

"Dear Robert,

"With my dear love to thee and thy father, and to George Keith, with all the rest of Friends in the holy Seed of Life, that is over all, and changeth not, but reigneth, the First and the Last; in whom you have life and salvation! And so, my desire is, that you all may be valiant for the Truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad; and that those who are brought into the Truth, may keep in the holy order of it, in the glorious gospel of Christ, the heavenly Man; so that the Lord may be glorified in all your assemblies, and Christ may have his joy in you all, and 'your joy may be full' in Him who draweth up to God. And so, the Lord God Almighty, in his glorious power, preserve you all,—and over all that which makes to suffer.

"And, dear R. B., I desire thee to send the little epistle, with the substance of this, to the prisoners and to Friends. And this unruly spirit of J. S. and W. R. and J. W. I saw, as I was at prayer to the Lord for Friends in my chamber,—that it was for the trial of Friends, as the other that had risen before; and when it hath done its work, it will pass the way after those that have gone before it. And I saw Friends, sitting low, and wet, and watered with the dew of heaven. So, it is for the trial of Friends,—of their standing to God, and of their keeping their habitation, and of holding the Head, with the light, grace, spirit and truth, power and faith, that cometh from Christ. And so, all will be good in the end to all God's people.

"I am sorry, that William Rogers should do so basely with thee, and that, after he was satisfied, and a paper was signed,—for him to send thy name again in his book up and down the nation——it was five or six months, before I could get a copy of it; and yet it so spread. So, dear R.

B., I do send thee this, [some extracts;] but if thou wast here at Swarthmore, thou might see the book, which might be well, and I should be glad to see thee here. So, in haste, with my love,

"G. F."

"29th of 1st month, 1679."

The accompanying little epistle must not be withheld though in this place, out of date: it is as follows:

GEORGE FOX TO THE PRISONERS.

"Swarthmore, 1st month, 1678–9.

"My dear Friends,

"Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus' sake, and for the testimony of his truth! The Lord God Almighty uphold you with his power, and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience and content in his will; that you may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting, destroying spirit, which maketh to suffer,—[even] in Christ, who bruiseth his head,—in whom ye have both election and salvation. The Lord hath done much for the sake of his elect, as may be seen from the foundation of the world, and as may be seen throughout the Scriptures of truth; and those who touch them, touch the apple of God's eye, they are so tender to him. And therefore, it is good for all God's suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for these shall be as Mount Zion, that cannot be removed from Christ their Rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all God's elect, the prophets and apostles, and God's people now, and to the end: glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all!

"And do not think the time long, for all time is in the Father's hand, his power; and therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift, and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy spirit of faith, amen!

"G. F."

NOTE P.—Page 89.

"A Seasonable Warning and serious exhortation to, and expostulation with the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, concern-

ing this present dispensation and day of God's living visitation towards them.

"Great, unutterably great, O ye Inhabitants! is the love of God, which flows in my heart towards you; and in bowels of unspeakable compassion am I opened,—am I enlarged unto you, in the sight and sense of your conditions, which the Lord hath discovered and revealed unto me. O that your eyes were opened, that ye might see and behold this day of the Lord! and that your ears were unstopped, to hear his voice, that crieth aloud and calleth one and all of you to repentance! and that your hearts were softened and inclined to discern and perceive this blessed hour of his present visitation, which is come unto you! He hath lifted up a standard in the midst of you, and among your brethren; he hath called already a remnant, and enrolled them under his banner, and he is calling all to come; he hath not left one 'without a witness;' blessed are they that receive him and hear him, in this day of his appearance! He hath sent forth, and is daily sending forth his servants and messengers, to invite you to come and partake with him of the supper,—of the feast which he hath prepared. And among many others, whom at sundry times he hath caused to sound forth his testimony, I also have, in the name, and power, and authority of God, proclaimed his everlasting gospel among you, and preached, and held forth the glad tidings of this glorious dispensation,—which is Christ, manifesting and revealing himself in and by his Light and Spirit in the hearts of all men, to lead them out of all unrighteousness and filthiness both of flesh and spirit, unto all righteousness, truth, holiness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

"But, because many of you have despised this day, and as ye have made merry over God's witness in your hearts, not liking there to entertain him in his meek, lowly, yet lovely appearance; so have ye despised, mocked, and rejected that which testifieth to this witness without you. Therefore was I commanded of the Lord God, to pass through your streets covered with sackcloth and ashes, calling you to repentance; that ye might yet more be awakened and alarmed, to take notice of the Lord's voice unto you, and not to despise these 'things which belong to your peace,'

while your day lasteth, lest hereafter they be 'hid from your eyes.' And the command of the Lord concerning this thing, came unto me that very morning as I awoke, and the burden thereof was very great, yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me;—for such a thing, until that very moment, had never before entered me, not in the most remote consideration. And some whom I called, to declare to them this thing, can bear witness, how great was the agony of my spirit,—how I besought the Lord with tears, that this cup might pass away from me!—yea, how the pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how exceedingly my bones trembled, until I freely gave up unto the Lord's will.

"And this was the end and tendency of my testimony, to call you to repentence by this signal and singular step; which I, as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be found in, as the worst and most wicked of you can be averse from receiving or laying it to heart. Let all and every one of you, in whom there is yet alive the least regard to God or his fear, consider and weigh this matter in the presence of God, and by the Spirit of Jesus Christ in your hearts, which makes all things manifest;—search and examine every one his own soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them; and how great need they have to be truly humbled in their spirits, returning to the Lord in their inward parts with such true and unfeigned repentance, as answers to the outward clothing of sackcloth and being covered with ashes. And, in the fear and name of the Lord, I charge all upon this occasion, to beware of a slight, frothy, jeering, mocking spirit. For though such may be permitted to insult for a season; yet God will turn their laughter into howling, and will laugh when their calamity cometh: such are seen to be in one spirit with those, who spat in the face of the Lord Jesus, and buffeting him, bid him prophesy, who smote him.

"Therefore, consider, O ye Inhabitants! and be serious, standing in fear: [for] where are ye, who are called Christians? among whom it is become a wonder, a stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or a ground of reproach, for one in the name of the Lord to invite you to repen-

tance in sackcloth and ashes! Would not the heathen condemn you in this thing, and will not Nineveh stand up in judgment against you? How is it, that ye who are called Christians, can willingly give room to every idle mountebank, and can suffer your minds to be drawn out to behold these sinful divertisements, which indeed divert the mind from the serious sense of God's fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the magistrates complain of tumult, nor yet preachers nor professors cry out against it, as delusion or madness. O my Friends! consider; can there be any more strongly deluded, than for people daily to acknowledge and confess in words, [that] they are sinners and sinning; and to startle at that, which did [in] so lively [a manner] represent unto them, what they own to be their condition? Were it in good earnest, or were it from a true sense of your sins, that you so frequently seem to acknowledge them, ye would not despise nor overlook that which calleth you to repentance for it. How is it, that you can so confidently array yourselves in all manner of gaudy and superfluous apparel, and exceed in lustful powderings and perfumes; and yet are ashamed and amazed at sackcloth and ashes, which, according to your own acknowledgment, is so suitable to your states? Is not this to glory in your shame, and to be ashamed of that which ought to be, and would be your greatest glory—[even] true and unfeigned repentance?

"I shall add that which, upon this occasion, I declare unto you,—I was for a sign from the Lord unto you; and desire ye may not be among those that 'wonder and perish,' but rather 'repent and be saved.'—And this is my testimony unto you, whether you will 'hear or forbear,'—I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirings I have answered in this thing. I have not sought yours, but you; I have not coveted your gold or silver, or any thing else; nor do I retain or entertain the least hatred, grudge, or evil will towards any within or without your gates; but continue in pure and unfeigned love towards all and every one of you, even those who do most despise or reject me and my testimony; —being ready to 'bless those that curse,' and to 'do good to those that despitefully use' me; and to be spent in the

will of the Lord for your sakes, that your souls may be saved, and God over all may be glorified! for which I travail and cry before the throne of grace, as becometh a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"ROBERT BARCLAY."

"This came before me to signify unto you by writing, at Ury, the 12th of the 1st month, 1672."

NOTE Q.—Page 94.

In this place, it will be proper to mention, that the facts thus substantiated by the united testimony of many witnesses, themselves the objects of this course of violent treatment, received all that confirmation from the history of the place, which could, in the nature of the case, be expected to be handed down respecting a people at once so insignificant and despised, so misrepresented and abused. The intelligent author of the "Annals of Aberdeen," has furnished, the public with such corroborative evidence as he possessed, of the unjust and unworthy line of conduct pursued in ancient time by the predecessors of some, who are now, it is believed, honourable for their dedication to better principles and feelings. He gives the following candid, and as far as it goes, accurate outline of the commencement of this persecution.

"In the year 1663, the religion of the Quakers began to gain ground among some of the inhabitants. It had, by this time, made considerable progress in England, under the famous George Fox and James Nayler; and its enthusiasm having spread to this place, occasioned no little disturbance both to the magistrates and the ecclesiastics. Mr. George Keith, William Nepper, ship-master, and William Stewart, three citizens, having broken off all connexion with the established church, and openly avowed the principles of the Quakers, the magistrates considered that this religious innovation deserved their serious attention. They convened these people before them; condemned them to be immediately conducted out of the town by sergeants, and prohibited the inhabitants from harbouring them in their houses, under heavy penalties. These severities they bore with their usual patience, persisting in holding occasional meetings in the town, and in-

creasing the number of their proselytes. The magistrates, alarmed at their success in gaining converts, and, perhaps, instigated by the clergy, without further inquiry, issued their orders to apprehend all male Quakers at their next convention, to imprison them in the gaol, and to shut up their meeting-house. Such, however, was their enthusiasm, that they were not to be intimidated by these rigorous measures. They persevered in the profession of their religious doctrines, and were subjected to every indignity of imprisonment and disfranchisement. Having appropriated a piece of ground, on the east side of the Gallowgate, to the interment of their dead, they buried the bodies in it, without any religious ceremony; but this having attracted the attention of the magistrates, they ordered these to be raised, and the walls of their burial-place to be demolished.—To all these oppressions they submitted without the least murmur." vol. i. p. 254. In a note, attached to the words " perhaps instigated by the clergy," the same author appends the following circumstance. " Note.—Thomas Milne, shoemaker, having become a convert to the Quakers, was called before the Church Session; but, having persevered in maintaining his principles, was remitted to the three ministers of the town, to use their influence with him; which seems to have had very little effect, and the matter was dropt.—Records of the Church Session, 25th Nov. 1661.————" In the year 1674, Thomas Dockery and William Gelly, two of these inoffensive people, were imprisoned, under a warrant from the magistrate upon a charge which was brought against them, for deriding the holiness of the kirk, by calling it a steeple-house, and for attending their conventicle. These men remained in gaol for some time; but a representation being made to the Lords of the Privy Council, they were ordered, by a letter from the Lord Chancellor, to be liberated. After this period, the Quakers appear to have been allowed to practice their devotions, and religious duties agreeably to the principles which they professed, and to bury their dead according to their own custom, without molestation."

This concluding observation, is certainly not borne out by the vouchers which that people hold.

Note R.—Page 101.

Of John Swintoune, we read nothing more in the Memoirs of the Friends in Scotland; the few additional particulars which have come to the hand of the Author, he subjoins in the present Note.

At an early page of this Appendix, we have had before us in the career of George Keith, a sorrowful illustration of the continual necessity there is, for every one that "thinketh he standeth," to "take heed lest he fall." We have seen, that, while he walked in the light of the Lord, and moved in His strength and wisdom, maintaining the good fight of faith, in all humility, patience, and watching unto prayer, George Keith was kept an eminent and serviceable instrument. But so soon as ever he forsook the Lord, trusted in his own heart, and leaning to his own understanding, he was left to his own devices; notwithstanding his great endowments, he became weak and even weaker than other men, inconsistent with himself, confused in his views, and unsanctified in his spirit. With regard to the individual now under notice, it may be remembered, that few men of his day and country were blessed with greater advantages, or had better worldly prospects than John Swintoune. His influence had been great with those, under whose appointment he at one time served, when it might be almost said, he led the counsels of Scotland; while, on the other hand, his very enemies and those who sought his life, were struck with sympathy and admiration at the way in which he bowed under his reverses. Favoured with that high and extensive view, which the Society of Friends have taken, of the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, and under a deep sense of its value, he had been the means of engrafting a stem of Truth in his native land; he had helped forward its budding, in the hearts of such, as a Provost Jaffray and a Colonel Barclay,—men of a noble stamp, of an excellent spirit, whose sons and successors were the valiants of the Society in that country in after time. Expounding unto these, like Aquila, "the way of God more perfectly," he might be called an antecessor and leader of this people in Scotland. He had likewise tasted his share of those various indignities, which abundantly befell all, who counted it their joy and crown

to follow the footsteps of the grace of Jesus. Yet after all this,—he stood not "steadfast, immovable," he did not continue in this grace of God, but fell from it,—nay, he frustrated it, and fell into an act of immorality. His case, like that of David, which is recorded for our warning and instruction, gave "great occasion for the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme," made the hearts of the righteous sad, and though followed by swift conviction and unfeigned penitence, was most probably the means of crippling him in his spiritual standing for the remainder of his days. He was of course excluded from the fellowship of his brethren in religious profession, and they testified against his conduct accordingly; judging it, as they express themselves, to be a duty to recommend that 'a visible distance and separation be kept as to near converse,' until repentance be further manifested. Yet, when he had given full evidence to their satisfaction, not only of the sincerity of his sorrow, but of his restoration and settlement as a sound member of Christ, there is little doubt he again partook of the unity of his friends.

A letter of his now lies before the Author, addressed to Margaret Fox, the wife of George Fox, but previously the wife of Judge Fell, who possessed great influence throughout the Society, and maintained a large correspondence with its members. It is dated the 8th of the 10th month, 1673, perhaps not much above a year subsequent to his fall. He was then in London, having paid his correspondent a visit at Swarthmore Hall, in Lancashire, on his way from Scotland. He speaks with the freedom of friendship upon the posture of political affairs at that juncture, as they might be likely to affect the interest of Friends, and of the proceedings that were then before Parliament in relation to liberty of conscience; having, that day, been in attendance "at the Hall." He concludes his sheet with the endearing salutation, so usual among brethren and sisters in the Truth, and so worthy of them,—that of love. But the best proof of the peaceful condition of mind, he was favoured through redeeming mercy to arrive at, is furnished in two precious documents, one of them written by himself during his last illness; and the other by his widow, after his decease. They are, with some slight verbal amendment, as follow.

"A TESTIMONY LEFT BY JOHN SWINTOUNE OF SWINTOUNE."

"I, John Swintoune of Swintoune, being surrounded with weakness of body, so that there is more probability than to the contrary, that I may lay it down; therefore, in the seriousness and sense that becomes a dying man, I thus write.

"That my faith and belief firmly is and hath been, that the contemned people called Quakers are a blessed people, and their testimony, as to every part and parcel of it, is blessed, and may not be forgone, one hoof of it; but is to run and be glorious, even to the ends of the earth, and is for the healing of the nations, as it shall prevail—which it shall not fail to do, (the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it,) to the shame and confusion and disappointment of all those, that look upon them and it with an evil eye.

"And it is my advice, and desire, and request to all my relations and acquaintance, that, in the fear and dread of God, they leave off having any hand in, nor be in the least consenting to any hardship put upon that blessed people; but rather travail to cleave to them in their hearts, whose heart is not raised to stand up openly for them; for, as the Lord God hath pleaded their cause and stood by them, so he will yet more abundantly, as ever he did Israel in the land of Zoar, and no weapon formed against them shall prosper, and the great ones of the earth he will reprove for their sakes.

"Writ and subscribed with my own hand, at Borthwick, this 15th of the 2nd month, 1679.

(Sic subscribitur) "J. S."

HIS WIFE'S TESTIMONY CONCERNING HIM AND THE TRUTH.

"Let substance [Christ the living, eternal substance,] be the aim of every one: oh, keep to it, every one that knows it; for a needful time may come! Oh, travail for it every one that knows it not! let your cry be, that you may come into acquaintance with it, and be joined unto it, and be one with it for ever! for nothing below this, can support in the needful time.

"In this living faith and principle of life, my dearly beloved husband laid down his outward man, in peace, and

had in measure the possession of it before he went hence. Both before he fell into his weakness of body, and many a time in his deep exercises, he gave many a true and living testimony to this ever blessed Truth, which is Life and Light;—and it was his life, and is the life of all that believe in it, and walk in obedience to it. And, to the truth hereof, I can set my seal,—and was one with him in spirit; so that our nearness was not only in the outward, which was to be separated, but in that which can never be separated;—which is the life of all the faithful in this day, and in all ages. So, it is with the Father, and with the Son, and with the spirits of just men made perfect, that our union and fellowship is: here is our strength, at this day, —in Christ, the substance and fulness, and fulfiller of all in us. Here self is of no reputation, nor outwards trusted in; for they must all come to an end, how glorious soever they may be in their day or age, whether persons or professions. Nay, I can say, of a truth, the profession of Truth will not serve in the needful time,—it must be the possession of substance,—that to be our inheritance, our strength, our life for ever! And when we find any thing separate from this, then—trouble and anguish of spirit; as one said, in his day, 'Thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled;' Psal. xxx. 7, but through judgment, redemption is witnessed, and through waiting in the light, life springs in the inward parts, and strength is renewed. So, here is the Rock of ages, a Foundation of many generations,—oh, living praise! oh, everlasting renown and eternal thanksgiving be sounded forth unto the Author and Finisher of our faith, which is, Christ Jesus in us, the hope of glory,—blessed for ever, and for evermore!

"FRANCES SWINTOUNE."

"Borthwick, 22nd of 6th month, 1679."

NOTE S.—Page 106.

The small estate of Kingswells, lying about five miles west of Aberdeen, came into the possession of the Jaffrays in the year 1587, being purchased, as the family records state, by Alexander Jaffray, bailie or magistrate of Aberdeen, who married Christian Burnet, daughter of the then proprietor of Leys, and died 1645. His son, Alexander,

married Magdalen Erskine, daughter of Erskine of Pittodrie, and had a son Alexander, the author of the Diary, born 1614. He married Jane Dune 1632, by whom he had a son Alexander, who died 1672. His second wife, Sarah Cant, whom he married in 1647, died a few months after him, in 1673. Their eldest son, Andrew, born 1650, married Christian, daughter of Alexander Skene, of the family of Skene of Skene, and had Lilias, Margaret, Alexander, Christian, Andrew, Sarah, John, Patience, James, and Anna. He died 1726. His son Alexander, grandson of the Diarist, in 1700, married Christian Barclay, daughter of "the Apologist," and had ten children.

The language of Richard Claridge, a learned and eminent member of the Society of Friends, is well worthy attention in this place: it was written on occasion of his acknowledging the receipt of the genealogy of the Claridge family, which had been taken out of the Herald's Office by some of the relations, and by one of them kindly forwarded to him—"There is a pedigree, namely, the Christian, which is noble indeed, and is worthy of our most diligent search and earnest inquiry. To be the children of God, and co-heirs with Christ,—to have our robes washed in the blood of the Lamb, and to be made kings and priests unto God;—and to know this ourselves, by the testimony of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, whereby we can cry, Abba, Father!—this, this, my dear kinsman, is far above all in this sublunary world! O let this piece of divine and spiritual heraldry, be our main care and concern; omitting no opportunity, under those blessed means that are so plentifully afforded us, of making our calling and election sure." Claridge's Life and Posthumous Works, p. 315.

Note T.—Page 110.

Treatment received by Friends in their worship, and their support under it.

"But when people meet together, and their worship consisteth not in such outward acts, and they depend not upon any one's speaking, but merely sit down to wait upon God, and to be gathered out of all visibles, and to feel the Lord in spirit; none of these things can hinder them: of which we may say of a truth, we are sensible witnesses. For

when the magistrates, stirred up by the malice and envy of our opposers, have used all means possible—and yet in vain—to deter us from meeting together, and that, openly and publicly, in our own hired houses for that purpose; both death, banishments, imprisonments, finings, beatings, whippings, and other such devilish inventions have proved ineffectual to terrify us from our holy assemblies. And we having thus oftentimes purchased our liberty to meet by deep sufferings, our opposers have then taken another way; by turning in upon us the worst and wickedest people, yea, the very offscourings of men; who, by all manner of inhuman, beastly, and brutish behaviour, have sought to provoke us, weary us, and molest us—but in vain. It would be almost incredible to declare, and indeed a shame, that among men pretending to be Christians it should be mentioned, what things of this kind men's eyes have seen, and I myself with others have shared of, in suffering! There, they have often beaten us, and cast water and dirt upon us; there, they have danced, leaped, sung, and spoken all manner of profane and ungodly words; offered violence and shameful behaviour to grave women and virgins; jeered, mocked, and scoffed, asking us, If the Spirit was not yet come,—and much more, which were tedious here to relate:—and all this, while we have been seriously and silently sitting together, and waiting upon the Lord.

"So that, by these things, our inward and spiritual fellowship with God, and one with another in the pure life of righteousness, hath not been hindered. But, on the contrary, the Lord knowing our sufferings and reproaches for his testimony's sake, hath caused his power and glory more to abound among us, and hath mightily refreshed us by the sense of his love, which hath filled our souls;—and so much the rather, as we found ourselves gathered into the name of the Lord, which is the strong tower of the righteous, whereby we felt ourselves sheltered from receiving any inward hurt through their malice,—and also, that he had delivered us from that vain name and profession of Christianity, under which our opposers were not ashamed to bring forth these bitter and cursed fruits.—Yea, sometimes, in the midst of this tumult and opposition, God would powerfully move some or other of us by his Spirit,

both to testify of that joy, which, notwithstanding their malice, we enjoyed, and [also] powerfully to declare, in the evidence and demonstration of the [same] Spirit, against their folly and wickedness; so [that] the power of Truth hath brought them to some measure of quietness and stillness, and stopped the impetuous streams of their fury and madness. That, as ever of old Moses by his rod divided the waves of the Red sea, that the Israelites might pass; so, God hath thus by his Spirit made a way for us, in the midst of this raging wickedness, peaceably to enjoy and possess Him, and accomplish our worship to him:—so that sometimes, upon such occasions, several of our opposers and interrupters have hereby been convinced of the Truth, and gathered from being persecutors to be sufferers with us." Barclay's Apology, Prop. xi. Sect. 13.

NOTE U.—Page 112.

In the daily intercourse of private life, there is no doubt, Robert Barclay had abundant occasion given him, (though in a less notorious and permanent manner than the public arena of controversy,)—to evince his love to the cause he had espoused,—as well as his deep and clear knowledge of the truth of it, by the exercise of those unusual qualifications he had received for declaring and defending it. Many of his relations are stated to have been Roman Catholics; others of them, we may conclude, belonged to the Presbyterian and Episcopal bodies. The Writer of these sheets, when at Ury, discovered in the library a thick quarto volume in manuscript, of between 300 and 400 closely written pages, bound in leather, and entitled, "Questions proposed by Mr. Charles Gordon, concerning the Quakers' principles, to Robert Barclay: with his answers thereunto, and Mr. Charles his considerations of the said answers: copied out of Mr. Charles his papers by his brother, Mr. Robert Gordon; 1678." The date of this correspondence is concluded to have been at least as early as 1670, when the first of Barclay's publications came out. These Gordons were his uncles; and the latter, Robert, appears to have lived at Cluny, a few miles distant from Aberdeen. There is, in this mass of deeply polemical theology, enough to show the intricate labyrinth of words

and of notions, in which most religious professors of the age were involved; and in these metaphysical niceties, Charles Gordon proves himself to have been, indeed, thoroughly furnished. Robert Gordon, too, must have been a disputant of no mean account, at least in the estimation of the college students of Aberdeen; or they would not have brought him in, when they raised a story, about his appointing a dispute with his nephew, which, they said, the latter out of fear had deserted. R. B.'s Works, fol. p. 670. Thus closely pressed upon and beset on all sides, the early Friends generally, and this Friend in particular, must have found it hard, and even almost incessant work, to have replied to all the objections raised against their sentiments and practice. In allusion to this part of Barclay's career, the writer of his life, in the "Biographia Britannica," observes, "Though it might be conceived, that so many undertakings, within so narrow a compass of time, must have wholly taken him up, and left him not so much as a moment to spare; yet, it is certain, that at this very moment, he was meditating his great work, [the Apology.]"

But it connot be considered, that these undertaking are likely to have, by any means, comprehended all that the energies of Robert Barclay's mind were employed upon. From some memoranda in his own hand-writing, it would seem far from improbable, that he had some design and plan of a History of the Church.

Note V.—Page 130.

At this page, there is allusion to a letter, addressed by Friends to George Melvill, who had been appointed by the Commissioners of the Scottish Privy Council, to distrain the property of the prisoners, in payment of the fines decreed against them. It appears, the Commissioners were offended at the letter, and looked upon it as an instance of great provocation in the prisoners. This was not surprising; nor, on the other hand, was it surprising, that they should have so written. It would have too much interrupted the narrative, to have interposed this letter in the body of the work; nor is there contained in it aught, but what we might expect under such circumstances,—a plain, but

solid expostulation: original documents, however, even on ordinary subjects and of no extraordinary stamp, occasionally throw a very material interest and light upon past transactions, giving often a just insight into the springs of character and conduct. It is here subjoined.

"George Melvill,

"Being informed that thou hast undertaken that ungodly and unchristian employment, to poind out goods for our keeping meetings to wait upon the Lord and to worship him; we have found freedom to lay it before thee, —that it is the duty of every one who professes the name of a Christian, to consider by what spirit they are led, in all their actions and undertakings. For, it is certain, there are but two spirits, by which all the inhabitants of the earth are led in their thoughts, words, and actions; either the Holy Spirit of Jesus, that leads into all truth and righteousness, or the spirit of the world, which is [the spirit of] the devil. Accordingly, we exhort thee, in God's fear, to weigh and consider, which of these is thy leader in this undertaking. If it be the Lord, thou mayst judge by the principle it comes from, and his light in the conscience will discover it unto thee. And if it be from Satan, who is the god of this world,—thy covetousness and fear of men, more than the fear of God—that Light will clear it to thee. Thou must acknowledge, that whoever are serving the devil, are enemies to God; and God, in his own time, will recompense every man according to the deeds done in the body. And though a little profit or gain, or satisfying any corrupt affection, may be for a season sweet as honey in the mouth, yet ere long it will be as gravel in the belly. And when the Lord shall enter into judgment with thee, it will not excuse thee, that thou wast forced to it by the threats of great men, or wast otherwise necessitated; for all that is but the fruit of an unbelieving heart, which knows not the power of God, nor his faithfulness,—that he is able and will certainly reward every one as they have sown, whether they 'sow to the flesh' or 'to the Spirit.'

"We must tell thee, that we have had such frequent proofs of the Lord's owning us and his Truth professed by

us, that there are few of the instruments of our sufferings, but have sometimes met with evidences of the Lord's displeasure against them; as we can give instances, not only in England and in New England, but very remarkable ones in this place,—though little regarded by those, who observe not the works of God, nor 'the operation of his hands.' And this is no strange thing; for the Lord hath said to his people, 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye.' Zech. ii. 8. There are many who are far short of thy outward deportment, that would have been loath to have undertaken such an employment; and we are persuaded, even in the eyes of sober men, this will make thy name to stink, and stain thy reputation as a man, and put such a blot upon thee that thou wilt not rub off. Thou shalt know, our Friends in England have published to the world in print their sufferings, and have manifested the cruelties and unjust dealings, and the instruments thereof, to be read and seen of all men, for the honour of the Truth, and the convincing of those that otherwise lay little of this to heart. And what if, ere long, there may somewhat of this proceed from us: for there is nothing of this kind, that as yet has slipped us, of being put upon record; and thou mayst judge what savour this may have in after ages, when, even in this also, thou shalt be recorded for thy unjust doing towards us.

"We write not this out of any fear of what thou or any else can do against us; for we are serving the Lord, and are his people; and through his grace and strength assisting, shall rejoice to be counted worthy to suffer for his name—not only the spoil of our goods, but the worst that devils and men shall be permitted to do, because of so blessed a testimony as we hold. For, we believe nothing shall befall us, but that which shall have a tendency to the advancement of his blessed Truth:—and who will not willingly suffer for such blessed ends, that hath any true measure of the love of God in them? But if thou shalt engage to be an instrument of our persecution, we desire thou mayst look over Scripture records, and see what the Spirit of the Lord testifies concerning Cain, the first persecutor of his brother, because his worship was accepted of the Lord, and not his own; also how it was with Pha-

roah and his people, for hindering the Lord's people from going to worship him. And consider, that, in the gospel times, none did ever persecute but the antichristian spirit, nor did impose upon men's consciences but the beast mentioned in Revelation, xiii. 16, 17; who caused all ranks of men to receive his mark, and in other respects had no common privilege with other men, so as to buy or sell. Remember, that in Galatians, iv. 29, the Apostle declares, 'But as then, he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.' We suppose, thou wouldst not be satisfied that any should do so to thee. Now as this we can say in the presence of God and man, so we remain,

"Thy Friends."

Note W.—Page 133.

Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, was the eldest daughter of Frederick the 5th, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, daughter of King James the 1st of England. This excellent Princess possessed only a small territory; but she governed it with great judgment, and attention to the happiness of her subjects; on which account she was greatly beloved and respected by them, as well as by many persons of learning and virtue, not resident in her dominions. "Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary;"—says William Penn, who knew her well, and has left an account of her in his No Cross, No Crown;—"she never considered the quality, but the merit, of the people she entertained. Though she kept no sumptuous table in her own court, she spread the tables of the poor in their solitary cells. Abstemious in herself, and in apparel void of all vain ornaments. I must needs say, her mind had a noble prospect; her eye was to a better and more lasting inheritance than can be found below: which made her often to despise the greatness of courts, and learning of the schools, of which she was an extraordinary judge." On one occasion she said to William Penn, "It is a hard thing to be faithful to what one knows. O, the way is straight! I am afraid I am not weighty enough in my spirit to walk in it!"—"She lived till about 60 years of age, and then departed this life at

her own house in Herwerden, in the year 1680; as much lamented, as she had been beloved by her people."

The correspondence stated to have been maintained between this Princess and Robert Barclay, is noticed by his grandson, in the Account of his family, now before the Author. "He remarks, "Though I have many more of the said Princess's letters, and copies of my grandfather's answers, I shall refer to the originals, for those who want to see them." These valuable documents, the Author, by favour of the present proprietor of Ury, has searched for—but in vain.

Note X.—Page 181.

It is believed, that the present will prove the most eligible occasion of reviving "An Expostulatory Epistle, directed to Robert Macquare, and delivered to him at Rotterdam," where he then resided: it bears the date of 1678, and the signature of Lilias Skene.

Of Robert Macquare, some information was given in the Diary of Jaffray, at p. 168, as well as in the Appendix which follows it. With regard to his female correspondent, it may be remembered, she had been held in very unusual estimation among the worthiest, as well as the highest in profession, of the citizens of Aberdeen. She however found, as related in these Memoirs, at p. 72, the peace of her enlightened and enlarged mind, to consist in joining the Society of Friends; by this act, more completely taking up the cross to self, than she had hitherto seen the need of, especially with regard to its more refined appearances and workings. Thus, she was reduced to sit down as at the feet of Jesus, and learn of him in all things, who is "meek and lowly of heart;" herein "proving what is acceptable unto the Lord," through a deep searching of soul, and a continued subjection of her own spirit to his. The ensuing Epistle bears abundant token, that she was no "forgetful hearer" in the school of Christ, "but a doer of the work," not "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the Truth;"—one who, ceasing from an undue leaning upon man, or unlawful trust even in princes, had attained to more understanding in "the mystery of godliness" than all her teachers. No mere admi-

sation of the contents of this Piece would have prevailed for its insertion here,—more especially as Robert Barclay had given it a place in one of his publications,—had not its tendency been, in every part, strikingly to develop the work and character of that day,—also, the spirit of those, who had to contend thus earnestly for the faith and liberty of the gospel.

EXPOSTULATORY EPISTLE TO ROBERT MACQUARE.

"Friend,

"My tender love and sympathy has been great in times past towards many of the Nonconformists, who were suffering for conscience sake, and not for interest espousing that opinion. And thou being one of these, wast often very near to me; notwithstanding I knew, that generally the Nonconformists are more imbittered and prejudiced against us who are called Quakers, than against any other men. Yet this I often construed to flow from misinformation, they being so little conversant among us. And your being so shy, was but like the disciples in a storm; who seeing their Master appear in a manner they had not seen him before, though he was coming nearer for their deliverance, yet cried out through fear, as if it had been the appearance of some evil spirit. At other times, I have looked upon the great prejudice many had against us, as answerable to Christ's saying, 'No man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new, for he saith, The old is better.'

"Such constructions have hitherto, and do yet cause me to bear with you, as well as to love that which is good amongst you, wherever it appeareth. And because of this love towards thee, I am the more concerned at what thou hast lately published. For though my acquaintance and intimacy with thee, was not so great as others, yet it was during a very serious season with us both, as I well remember; thou being then shut up close prisoner, and daily in expectation of the sentence of death. And I retain the fresh sense of thy deliverance from such a situation; so that it was, and still is (with many such occasions, wherein the Lord hath prepared my heart, and bended his ear,) a sweet encouragement to trust him, as well as a sin-

gular engagement on me to wait for the manifestation of his will at all times.

"But oh! since I heard of and read thy Postcript to John Brown's Book, [entitled 'Quakerism the Path-way to Paganism,'] and S. R.'s Letters, I am astonished and much ashamed on thy behalf! Are these the best fruits of so many years affliction, which thou hast to publish to the world,—that one who is called and is actually suffering as a Nonconformist to this sinful time, should have learned no more conformity to meek and lowly Jesus,—of whom it is said, 'He learned obedience by the things which he suffered?' Surely, none who read thy language will say, This man hath been with Jesus; but rather, that in whose company soever thou hast been, thou hast learned to be a cunning artist at the scolding trade; and art therein so 'vainly puffed up,' as even to fly aloft, though with waxen wings, above the lowly, meek, and harmless spirit of Christ. In truth, had I all thy rhetoric, whether natural or acquired, and which thou so much misimprovest, gratifying that part in thyself and thy followers which needs rather to be crucified,—it would not be my desire to imitate thy example. Nor shall I wish, that ever thou mayest have an answer from any of the Lord's people in thy own terms; which indeed are such, that all sober, unprejudiced people who read them, will see thy spirit, that it is most strongly imbittered, and thy pen dipped as it were in gall. I say, it is not my desire to bring forth one 'railing accusation' against thee, neither to answer many things thou hast vented forth against the Lord's present work and witnesses, whom thou so despisest and defiest. Yet, if the living God, a part of whose host they are, should see meet, he can raise up the very least among them to deal with thee, and make thee feel 'worm Jacob' a 'threshing-instrument having teeth,' to thresh that lofty, malicious spirit that breathes through thee.

"The consideration of this thy condition, upon thy own soul's account, is the occasion of this letter; wherein I desire to lay some things before thee, which are with weight upon me; my compassion on thy behalf being kindled, lest, when the Lord comes to visit the earth, thou should be found among those, who are beating their fellow-

servants—the hazard of which state, thou know'st, and many, no doubt, will feel, when the Lord rises up to the prey. For, indeed, his eyes 'are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry.' Although he be now trying the children of men, permitting some to suffer, and others to do 'hard things;' yet, a hope lives in me, the time is approaching, wherein the Lord will more manifestly appear, to the joy and refreshment of the single in heart, who suffer with him, and patiently wait for him; as well as to the shame and utter overthrow of his opposers.

"One of the particulars I would lay before thee, is, a desire thou wouldst yet in the Lord's light search thy own heart more, till thou find'st out, what secret affinity hath remained with thee to any of the Lord's enemies in thy own heart. For, if all were brought under the government of the Son of God inwardly, I am fully persuaded, thy outward opposition to the Lord's work could not long stand. The outward is a true figure of the inward: for I know by true experience, all that despite, together with all those disdainful, undervaluing epithets, thou squeezest up thy engine to coin, (and which one may feel, answer not fully thy own satisfaction,) for the purpose of bespattering and loading this people and their principles,—is but, alas! a mirror-glass set up to represent the low, mean, unworthy esteem thou bearest to the light of Christ in its appearance as a reprover within thee. For, whosoever turns universally at the reproofs of God's light in the conscience, shall witness the pouring forth of his Spirit in larger manifestations; according to Proverbs, i. 23, 'Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my Spirit unto you," &c. But that spirit, rather, speaketh in thee, of which Isaiah prophesied, liii. 2, 3, &c., when he alluded to the outward appearance of the same Christ, our Head, and the Captain of our salvation. His sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory, we dearly own, and wait from day to day to feel more of the precious virtue thereof. He was then 'despised and rejected of men,' and they 'hid as it were' their 'faces' from him, because His outward appearance was 'as a root out of a dry ground;' neither was there 'form,' or 'comeliness,' or 'beauty,' that he should

be desired by that mind, that was looking after great things, and expected outward glory and advantage. Thus was Christ's appearance mistaken by the learned rabbies in that day; notwithstanding they had Moses' and the prophets' testimonies, nor were wanting in reading the letter, with others in this day. And as it was then, so is it now, he was and is mistaken by all, who seek any thing to glory in, save the cross of Christ. For the wisdom of the flesh ever hath, and ever doth lift fallen man above the innocent Seed in themselves, through which alone they can see the invisible glory of the kingdom of God, and find an abundant entrance unto the 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' of which it consists. Wherefore, take heed of being lifted up above 'the Seed of the kingdom,' the Light, Life and Spirit of Christ in thee; so wilt thou see occasion to work out thy 'salvation with fear and trembling,' and wilt not sit down upon former attainments or experiences when the Life is gone.

Another thing, of which I would put thee in remembrance in these times is this; The great danger of sinning at 'the waters of strife;' of which the example of Moses may be a standing monument to all generations. Was it not said of him, that he was 'very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth?' yet, 'at the waters of strife' 'he spake unadvisedly with his lips;' because of which, he was debarred from entering into the promised rest. And are there not some in this day, who with sorrow of heart have observed the heat and bitterness of spirit which exist, and how differences and controversy concerning religion have eaten out the life of love and tenderness, that was in many? And those who have hurt the green thing in themselves and one another, have brought on death, darkness, dryness, and sensible withering,—and cannot fail to do so; seeing bitterness of spirit and prejudice, with similar frames of mind, in man or woman, separate from God. For 'God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.' And Christ hath said, 'He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me, ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered.' So, not abiding in this pure love to God and

his image in his children, hath caused many to fall short, and hath hindered their progress, and made them lose sight of their way, and the 'Guide of their youth:' thus, they have not fully followed the Lord in the regeneration, who renews according to the increase of light, and the measures of his manifestation; whereby they might know, even in this life, a being 'changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.'——

"If ye had the help of the Spirit's immediate teachings in your own hears, without which ye will not yet understand aright the signs of this time, ye would see the Lord coming out of his holy habitation to silence all flesh, 'to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth, that 'the Lord alone may be exalted.' Hath not the Lord removed the most of all those, who were eminently instrumental to serve him in the work of the ministry? And is he not daily making bare the skirts of such as remain, even daily making those to cease, 'who rejoice in thy pride?' Is not his voice sounding aloud unto such of you as remain, Ye shall 'no more be haughty, because of my holy mountain:' therefore, 'if to-day ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' For, I am sure, the Teacher, that will tell you infallibly what ye are called to do is near, and is not 'removed into a corner.' But it is the enemy's work to veil and cover present duties and opportunities, and to represent what is past and lost as very desirable; and even to prompt a people or person to bewail their past failings and short-comings, who little heed the worth of the remaining season, wherein they may yet 'redeem the time.' Wherefore, my advice in tender love to thy soul, is, That thou wait on the Lord, to understand aright the import of such signs as are now appearing; when the Lord is proceeding 'to do a marvellous work and a wonder among the people;' and is making 'the wisdom of their wise men' to 'perish,' and 'the understanding of their prudent' to be 'hid;' and pouring out of his Spirit upon sons and daughters, servants and handmaids, provoking to jealousy, and angering the mighty, learned, wise men of this generation, by the 'foolish' appearance of a company of illiterate

tradesmen, who were never bred up at schools and universities, even weavers, and shoemakers, and fishermen.——

"I also desire thee to consider, how inconsonant with true Christianity a spirit of persecution is; and how much more unsuitable and unequal for a people or person under the same condemnation. Surely that poor man, who had been but a little time in Christ's company, was so far influenced by his meek and moderate spirit, as not only himself to forbear railing against suffering Christ, but to rebuke his companion for so doing: which instance will stand in judgment against thee for the contrary practice. Neither will thy denying us to be members of Christ, and that we suffer for well-doing, and thy accounting us demoniacs, avail thee any thing, nor cover thee from that woe, (if thou obtain not mercy to repent,) denounced against those that 'call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness,'—in that day, when the Lord Jesus shall declare before men and angels, we are his friends and followers. O Robert! thy hard speeches have manifested thy own sad acknowledgment to be very true: the holy fire is indeed gone out with thee; in the place of which, that which never was, nor is of God's kindling, is brought forth. And this is not now to be found merely 'by secret search' in corners, or by secret surmises; but is by many of you laid open, and in thy late Postscript, as on a theatre, set up, so that those who run may read—the holy fire, if ever there was any, is quite extinct.———

"Concerning this compound of unjust, groundless accusations and malicious inventions, I nevertheless hope I may say, there are many sober, serious people, who fear and serve the living God,—inward Jews, whose hearts the Lord hath circumcised to love him, and who desire continually in the integrity of their hearts to serve him,—against whom, no divination nor enchantment of devils or men shall prosper. Of this blessed company, I do avouch myself one, through the free grace of God; and, I trust, we have put all thine and thy brethren's writings in the Lord's own hand to answer, for the vindication of his glory, and the manifestation of his Truth; nor do I desire to make any worse use of thy Postcript, than Hezekiah made of the writings of Rabshakeh in that day. Unto

the righteous Lord 'which searcheth the reins and hearts,' do I appeal, for his immediate help, and seasonable, powerful appearance. I desire both to hope, and patiently to wait, until he have 'performed his whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem,' both amongst you and us: then shall be brought to pass the sure promise, 'I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of [my adversary,] and the glory of his high looks.' In that day, he will inwardly and outwardly both 'plead our cause, and execute judgment for us;' he will bring forth our righteousness as the light,' and make his judgments for us manifest 'as the noon day,' —although we now lie among the black pots of your reproaches. The Lord will bring us forth unto the light, and we shall behold his righteousness, either fulfilled within you, or manifest upon you. My witness is in heaven— I am one who 'have not desired the evil day;' but am willing to embrace all the sweet opportunities of the drawings of my Father's love, and the arisings of his life, to 'stand in the gap' for the single-hearted among you.——

"When the Lord called me out from among the Presbyterians, I was one, who according to my education, and information, and inclination from my childhood, was a true lover of that [which was then] called the glorious gospel, and a constant attender upon the declarations thereof. The 'messengers' feet' who published it, were 'beautiful' to me, so long as those ordinances of man were unto me as the ordinances of Christ, which was for the space of more than thirty years. I loved them more than all things else in this world: I 'passed through' them 'hardly bestead and hungry' for many years, feeling after life and immortality, but could not find it: something was raised in me, which words and reports could not feed: names and notions I minded little; but Christ to dwell in me was that, which more and more I press after.

"And now I must, for the Truth's sake, say somewhat, (and I know the Lord will not impute it to be boasting,) respecting that season, wherein the Lord revealed to me the true way unto life and immortality by his inward appearance in my soul—which I humbly mention under a fresh remembrance of the love, power, and tender mercy of God, who enabled me. It was a time, in which he

had mercifully turned me from all that his light inwardly and law outwardly had ever condemned me for. My heart also did bear witness for me,—whatsoever I had known would please Him, that was I choosing to do; nor was I hereby seeking justification in my own righteousness, but rather a sure evidence of my interest in Him, who 'is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, justification, and redemption.' This blessed glimpse of my begun freedom, was given me in a seasonable time, that I might thereby be enabled to speak with mine enemy in the gate, and be encouraged to believe in the light, and wait upon the Lord, to feel his virtue perfectly cleansing me, 'from all filthiness of flesh and spirit.' Neither was I an undervaluer of the Scriptures; they were my rule then, and I hope for ever my life shall answer to them. I think they honour the Scriptures most, who live most according to them; not they, who call them the only rule, yet do not make them their pattern. The Scriptures of truth were precious to me; and by them was I taught, not to walk nor worship in the way of the people; the Spirit showing me his mind in them. And then I saw, in his light, that it is not the Scriptures many adore so much, as their own corrupt glosses upon them.—Neither can my experience go along with what thou affirmest of the hazard of converse with that people, [Friends.] It is very well known to all that lived in the place were I sojourned, I was not one who conversed with them: I was never at one of their meetings: I never read one of their books, unless accidentally I had found them where I came; and then only looked to them, and laid them by again.

"So now it remains with me to tell thee, what was the occasion of my joining with them, since it was none of those thou mentionest; which I will very singly, and can do very comfortably. It was that thing, ye school-men call immediate, objective revelation, (with which, it is my desire ye were more particularly and feelingly acquainted,) whereby the Lord raised in my soul his feeling life; so that I could not sit down satisfied with hearing of what the Son of God had done outwardly, (though I believe, thereby he purchased all that grace and mercy, which is inwardly wrought in the hearts of his children,) until I

should be a partaker of the virtue and efficacy of it, and thereby possess 'the substance of things hoped for.' I saw, an historical faith would neither cleanse me nor save me: if that could save any, the devils were not without a door of hope: I felt, I needed the revelation of the Son of God in me. All that ever I read or heard, without this, could not give me the saving knowledge of God. 'None knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him?' Through the virtue of this, were my eyes by degrees more and more opened. For the tender-hearted Samaritan had pity upon my wounded soul, when both priest and Levite passed by, and 'the watchmen rent my veil;' and when there was no eye to pity, nor hand to help, He drew near, and poured in wine and oil as he saw needful, fulfilling in measure the promise, on which he had long caused me to hope, 'He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.' And again, that sweet saying, so confirming and comforting to me, 'If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? &c. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?' These precious Scriptures, and many similar to them, being powerfully and seasonably opened up and applied by the Spirit of truth, times above number, both before and since, in effect speaking forth this language, 'Be not faithless, but believing,'—have made me set to my seal those words of Christ, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.' And as I walk with Him, and abide in Him, watching at the posts of Wisdom's gate, travelling onward in spirit more and more to bring forth fruit unto Him, endeavouring to walk worthy of Him, 'unto all well-pleasing,' as also daily to die unto self, that Christ may live in me,—thus I become a passive creature, and He an active Christ, in the increase of whose government, I feel the increase of my peace.

"And thus, my Friend, hast thou here, by some touches at things, occasion to see how far thou art mistaken concerning us; and how far contrary to the truth as it is in

Jesus, thou represent'st many things to the world, speaking evil of things thou knowest not—and if thou dost know them, the greater is thy sin.—On two particulars, indeed, I cannon strain charity so far as to believe thou think'st of us. Do we deny Jesus Christ and justification through his righteousness, because we make the sufficiency thereof of a more universal extent than ye? or because we love whole Christ so much, and his seamless garment, that we will not have him divided? Nay, we dare not divide justification and sanctification, neither confound them: we have felt the blood and Spirit distinct, yet inseparable. Neither canst thou think, we make void the Scripture, because we honour the Spirit, which was before the Scriptures were written, and bear testimony against all who deny the Spirit's immediate teachings to be the universal privilege of the Lord's people. Thus do ye take away the key of knowledge, and neither enter the kingdom, nor suffer others who would; but monopolize knowledge to yourselves, and intrude your meanings upon the consciences of men, as the rule:—which meanings, indeed, I do not own, either as the only rule or as any rule, further than as the Spirit of Christ in my conscience answers it.

"The testimony of the Spirit of Truth in thousands with me, will stand and rise up against thee, in the presence of the Lord, when all thy unjust reproaches and malicious accusations shall melt away before the presence of the glory of the heart-searching God. Before his tribunal, I desire daily to stand, that he may more narrowly search me by his light; and not only discover but destroy what he finds contrary to his own pure nature and holy will, whether mediately or immediately revealed. Before this tribunal, thou and I will ere long more solemnly appear, to give an account of the things we have done in the body! That thou mayst be able to do this with joy, and not with grief,—mayst thou, on future occasions, when thou commendest thy writings to others, have so much mercy on thy own soul and the souls of thy readers, as to desire them to ponder the path of their feet, and let all their ways be established, neither turning to the right hand nor to the left. And, be sure they come to the holy faith, and not merely to an implicit belief of the tradition of men.

By so doing, thou, and as many as thou canst influence, may come indeed to fare well in the Lord.

"I am one who, in my measure, travail for the redemption of the Seed of God in all souls, and in thine.

"LILIAS SKENE."

The Author should have stated, that some few passages in the above letter are omitted, and that some very slight alterations have been made in the phraseology.

NOTE Y.—Page 184.

Robert Barclay left his companions at Herwerden, and *they* took that place, again, on their way home. See W. Penn's Travels.—James the 2nd has been accused of pretending to be the champion of liberty of conscience, for the sake of opening a way for the establishment of the Roman Catholic party. This limitation of his good offices to the Barclays only, and his refusal to interest himself for the relief of the sufferers generally, does indeed favour the opinion that he was a time-server, and not a real friend to liberty of conscience. See R. B.'s Life.—Ragley was a seat of the Lord Conway, whose Lady may be said to have been one of the excellent of the earth, and was doubtless, a particular acquaintance of the Princess Elizabeth, as she certainly was of the writer of this letter. For some extraordinary account of her, see a supplementary note at the end of Penington's Letters, 2nd edit. 1829, published by Holdsworth and Ball, London.

NOTE Z.—Page 193.

Bishop Burnet declares of Archbishop Sharp, that "he stuck neither at solemn protestations, both by word of mouth and by letters, nor appeals to God, of his sincerity in acting for the Presbytery, both in prayers and on other occasions; joining with these many dreadful imprecations, if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a constant account of his negociations in their service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was so visible,—he having repeated his protestations to as many persons as then grew jealous of him,—that

when he threw off the mask, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of such a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man, whose dissimulation and treachery were so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand."—" A monster of hypocrisy, perjury, and vileness," says Cruickshank in his History; " he betrayed the Church of Scotland, and persecuted the true members of it." vol. i. p. 124.—Laing, another historian of Scotland, among other expressions, in his review of the character of the Archbishop, has the following:—" that he was vain, vindictive, perfidious, at once haughty and servile, rapacious and cruel, his friends have never attempted to disown:" " ———he became an unrelenting persecutor, like most apostates:———" vol. iv. p. 95.

Note AA.—Page 207.

Particulars of this difference, may be seen in " Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel," vol. ii. p. 49, &c. and especially of the part taken by Barclay in that troublesome affair. He evinces much disinterested and unambiguous friendship towards his brother-in-law, who had a very powerful opponent in the Duke of Gordon. After writing on his behalf to several of the English nobility, with whom he was intimate;—all of whom however declined giving their assistance in that business, though they proffered their good offices in any other respect in which they could serve him;—Barclay recommends him, to endeavour by all means to obtain private access to the King. But his friend did not stop here. He followed up this recommendation, by himself undertaking to solicit the inference of James the 2nd; and succeeded in obtaining from him a full hearing upon the whole matter, in the presence of the Marquis of Powis and the Earls of Murray and Melfort, who were requested to become referees. Persevering through all obstructions raised by the opposite party, Barclay was at length enabled to obtain a final settlement, much to the advantage of Cameron of Lochiel.

Note BB.—Page 214.

ANN, COUNTESS OF ERROL, TO CHRISTIAN BARCLAY.

"Slains, 27th February, 1690–1.

"Much Honoured,

"As there was none had a greater esteem of the merit of your worthy husband while alive than I, so there is none values his memory more than I shall always do; and this remembrance of him, which you have been pleased to send me, shall on that account be as carefully kept as I preserve any thing,—which I accept of with very sincere gratitude to yourself and all the rest of his family. I cannot fail to have a kindness for them, by reason of their relation to one I considered as so deserving a friend both to myself and to my brothers. For I have been often very well pleased to hear him mention them very affectionately, even at a time when most of the world had a vanity in railing at them; but I cannot deny him the justice to own, that I found his friendship for them rather increase than diminish, as their misfortunes grew upon them; and I am sure they are both very sensible of their loss, by being deprived of so worthy and disinterested a friend as he proved on all occasions. But besides all the obligations I owe you upon his account, either for my relations or myself, I am now particularly bound to yourself for minding to bestow one of his books on me; though I cannot but value the favour you do me, in believing me one that had a real esteem of his virtues more than is possible for me to express. And by the little time which I had the satisfaction to see your son, I was very well pleased to see so good appearances in him of supplying the place of so deserving a father; and it shall be a very acceptable satisfaction to me to see any of your family at this place;—for I am affectionately at your service,

"ANN ERROL."

Note CC.—Page 218.

"In the year 1694, Peter Gardner, a Friend who lived in Essex, had a concern to visit Friends in Scotland; but being in low circumstances, and having a wife and several children, was under discouragement about it. The Lord in mercy condescended to remove his doubts, by letting

him know he would be with him; and though he had no horse to ride, and was but a weakly man, yet he would give him strength to perform the journey, and sustain him so that he should not want what was sufficient. Having faith, with innocent weight he laid his concern before the monthly meeting to which he belonged: they highly esteemed his gift, and had full unity with his concern; and proposed procuring him a horse for his journey. But he said, 'Nay: my Master has promised to give me hind's feet.'

"He accordingly went on his journey along the east side of the nation, through Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire; and coming to a week-day meeting at Bridlington, where John Richardson then dwelt, he lodged at his house. In the evening, the doors being shut, he said to John, pointing his finger in a particular direction, 'Is there any Friend lives that way?' John told him, he pointed towards the sea, which was not far from thence. He said, He believed he must go and see somebody that way in the morning. John asked him, If he should go with him; he said, He believed it would not be best: and so, went to bed. In the morning, after John had walked over his grounds, and done his usual business, he came in, and inquired after Peter; his wife said, She had not seen him, and believed he was not risen. John went up into his chamber, and finding him not there, came down, and in a pleasant way said to his wife, 'There is the nest, but the bird is flown.' Soon after, came in Peter. He had risen before the sun, and went to the village, by no other direction than that internal intelligence he immediately received; and, at sunrising, beheld a Friend leaning on a post at his own door, in a pensive and solitary mood. Peter went to him, and asked him after his welfare, and if he had any family; he said, He had a wife, confined to her bed with a dangerous illness, and invited him to see her; to this, he replied, 'For that end am I come.' He went up stairs, and sitting down retiredly by her side, in an awful and solemn manner, said, 'Thou hast long had a concern on thy mind to visit the churches in America, but thy husband has hindered thee;' and told her, The will and resignation of her mind was accepted for the deed, and she was excused from the journey

which was before her; and should die in peace with God and man. Then addressing her husband, he said, 'Thy wife had a concern to visit the churches in another country beyond the sea, but thou wouldst not give her leave; so, she shall be taken from thee:' and, repeating part of what he had said to her, added, 'Thy wife will be happy: but the Lord will blast both thee and thine; for behold the Lord's hand is against thee, and thou shalt be reduced to want thy bread.' This message was not received in that love, in which it was delivered; but in heat and passion, he came after Peter; and, calling in great haste, as he sat on horseback, at John Richardson's door, seemed very angry with John, and asked, What man and message he had sent to him? 'As to message,' said John, 'I know nothing of it; but as to the man, I may tell thee, he is a man of God, and whatever he has said to thee, be it upon thee. Therefore be still, and weigh the matter: for I knew not of his going to thy house, but thought he was in bed, and did not inform him about thee, nor thy wife.' At which, he went away in great haste.

"So, Peter pursued his journey towards Scotland, John Richardson and another Friend going with him to Scarborough on horseback—for he would not let them go on foot with him. He kept before them full as fast as they chose to ride: and when they had got about half way, he gained ground upon them: John was filled with admiration, for he seemed to go with more slight and ease, he thought, than ever he had seen any man before. And riding fast to overtake him, and going over a field for a nearer cut, he appeared to be surrounded by glory, and his feet seemed not to touch the ground. When he overtook him; John said, 'Thou dost travel very fast:' Peter replied, 'My Master told me before I left home, that he would give me hind's feet; and he hath performed his promise to me.' When they came in sight of Scarborough, he said, 'Do take me to some Friend's house—a Friend's indeed, for I am greatly distressed.' 'I will have thee to a house where I lodge, and have spent many hours with pleasure; and if thou art not easy there, I will go until we find a place, if it may be.' And just as they entered the door, they heard some one go up stairs; and anon, the woman Friend com-

ing down, with a neighbour of hers, invited them to sit down. In a little while, Peter appeared very uneasy; which John perceiving, asked, how it was with him; he said, 'I cannot stay in this house: here is light and darkness, good and bad.' The woman, after she got them some refreshment, came and asked John, 'Who hast thou brought here?'—'A man of God,' he replied. Whereupon, they went away.

"Having a meeting at Scarborough the next day, John Richardson staid with him; and said, he had good service. He also went with him to several Friends' houses there; and he frequently spoke his sense of the state of the families: but as they were near entering one house, Peter stopped, and said, 'My Master is not there—I will not go in:' so they turned away. Being about to part, he queried with John, If the small-pox was in any town on his way? John replied, 'Why? Peter, what hast thou to do with that?'—he answered, 'I am satisfied I shall die of that distemper; and my Master told me to make speed in this visit, for I had but a short time to do it in;' repeating his promise of giving him hind's feet. John felt himself much affected: and, considering his mean appearance, asked, how he was prepared for money? telling him his journey was long, it being expensive travelling in Scotland, Friends being so thin. Peter answered, 'I have enough: my Master told me I should not want; and now a bit of bread, and some water from a brook, refreshes me as much as a set meal at a table.' But John insisted to see how much money he had: it was but two half-crowns. He felt an immediate impulse to tender him some money; and, putting his hand into his pocket, took out a number of small pieces, which Peter modestly refused, saying, He doubted not of his Master's provision. John forced him to take it; telling him, It was as free to him as his own; for so the Lord had put it into his heart.—Thus they parted.

"In about two weeks after, the man's wife, before mentioned, died, as Peter had foretold. At that time, the same man had three ships at sea; his son was master of one, his second son was on board another; and, in their voyages, they were all wrecked or foundered, and their cargoes chiefly lost; his two sons and several of the hands being

drowned. So that, from considerable affluence, he was soon after reduced so low, as to be maintained by Friends, though he had been in good circumstances, if not very rich, before those unexpected losses, at sea and land, in houses and children, had befallen him. The woman, at whose house Peter was so uneasy at Scarborough, had put her husband to bed in a state of intoxication; which John Richardson had not known him guilty of before.

"John Richardson further related, that after some time, he heard, that Peter Gardner had died in Cumberland, on his return from Scotland; and being attached to him in near affection, went to inquire how he ended. John Bowstead, a Friend near Carlisle, gave account, that Peter had been through Scotland, and came to Carlisle; the small-pox being there, he took the infection very suddenly, and lay ill with it. So John Bowstead went just as the pock was coming out upon him, and took him to his own house; they did not come out kindly, but swelled him very much, so that he was blind, and died about the seventh day. He was quite sensible to the last; and in a remarkable manner, was given to know the inward states of those that came to see him. And further, the money, which John Richardson had handed to him, actually lasted out, so as to defray the expenses of his interment and other charges incurred there.

NOTE DD.—Page 238.

The sentiment thus quaintly conveyed in the two last lines of this stanza, has always been prominently held forth to view by the Society of Friends; but has been not unfrequently in a strange degree misunderstood, as well as attempted to be perverted to our prejudice. The following quotation from a small volume, highly approved by orthodox members of the "Established Church of England," may serve to illustrate its truth and import.—"Though holy and religious persons do much eye the law of God, and have a great regard unto it, yet it is not so much the sanction of the law, as its reasonableness, and purity, and goodness, which do prevail with them; they account it excellent and desirable in itself, and that in keeping of it there is great reward; and that divine love wherewith

they are actuated, makes them become a law unto themselves.

Quis legem det amantibus?
Major est amor lex ipse sibi.

Who shall prescribe a law to those that love?
Love's a more powerful law, which doth them move.

"In a word, what our blessed Saviour said of himself, John, iv. 34, is in some measure applicable to his followers, that it is their meat and drink to do their Father's will: and as the natural appetite is carried out toward food, though we should not reflect on the necessity of it for the preservation of our lives; so are they carried with a natural and unforced propension towards that which is good and commendable."—The Life of God in the Soul of Man, 9th edit. p. 7. This volume contains much that is of sterling, spiritual worth. It has been already quoted in the course of these Notes, and as there stated, was penned by Henry Scougal, styled, professor of divinity at Aberdeen, son of Patrick Scougal, Bishop of that place, whose name has been repeatedly mentioned in these Memoirs. Bishop Burnet, the historian, first published it in 1691; and, in his preface, affirms, that "the author has written out nothing here, but what he himself did well feel and know." No wonder, then, that Pinkerton, in his "Iconographia Scotica," should describe it as "a work of eminent piety, without enthusiasm."

Note EE.—Page 238.

At page 207 of these memoirs, mention has been made of a connexion in marriage between Jean Barclay, sister to "the Apologist," and "Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel." The family of Lochell, here spoken of, as being visited by the son of "the Apologist," in company with his three fellow-travellers, was the same. And it further appears, by a minute of the Aberdeen Monthly Meeting, that "Una Cameron, daughter to Ewen Cameron of Lochell," laid before them her intention of marriage with "Robert Barclay, grandson of the Apologist."

Note FF.—Page 243.

When the first edition of this work had nearly gone

through the press, the Author happened, in a very unlooked for manner, to meet with a MS. collection of small pieces penned by this Friend, and all of them dated during the season of his imprisonment at Aberdeen. It embraces nearly 400 very closely filled quarto pages; and consists chiefly of addresses to the public at large, to the professors of religion in that city, or to his friends in Christ. Much excellent doctrinal matter, as well as practical exhortation in the love of the gospel, is to be found in the volume; but what seemed particularly striking in regard to it, was the circumstance, that 130 of these pages should bear the date of the Iron-house,—a cell, it will be recollected, in which Patrick Livingston was confined for seven weeks, where scarce any light was admitted, and under circumstances almost intolerable to human nature. See page 189.

NOTE GG.—Page 282.

The following admission has recently appeared from the pen of the biographer of Baxter; and forms no unimportant attestation in favour of that special service to which the Society of Friends were eminently called. "Considering," says Orme, "the abuses of divine ordinances, which had so long and so extensively prevailed, it is not surprising, that such a system as Quakerism should have arisen; and," continues he, "it may perhaps have answered a useful purpose, in calling the attention of men professing Christianity, to the great design of all its ordinances, and to which they ought ever to be regarded as subservient—the promotion of spirituality of mind, and the enjoyment of communion with God." vol. ii. p. 349. It is remarkable, too, that Baxter himself, whose controversy lay for many years against the doctrine of the Spirit, as it was so prominently held forth by our honourable predecessors, should, latterly in life, have been brought thus far to acknowledge:—"I am now," he says, "much more apprehensive than heretofore of the necessity of well grounding men in their religion, especially of the witness of the indwelling Spirit,—for I more sensibly perceive, that the Spirit is the great witness of Christ and Christianity to the world. And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to overlook the strength of this testimony of the Spirit,

while they placed it in a certain internal assertion, or enthusiastic inspiration; yet now I see that the Holy Ghost, in another manner, is the witness of Christ, and his agent in the world."—Life and Times, by Orme, vol. ii. p. 459.

In connexion with the subject of the present Note, the Author cannot better do justice to his own sentiments upon the important ground which the early Friends took, than by quoting a few lines from a valuable pamphlet, which has appeared while these sheets were passing the press. "The professors of Christianity in the time of George Fox, had generally forsaken the spirituality of religion, but were not in the least wanting as to a belief in the outward coming, the divinity, and sacrifice of Christ. Hence there was not that necessity of insisting upon faith in this last mentioned part of the covenant, respecting which there was no defect of faith, as upon that part in which there was a deficiency.——I believe, that the more [of] true, spiritual Christianity a man has, the better he will be qualified, rightly to see and to estimate the doctrines of truth, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, relative to the outward coming and offices of Jesus Christ. And, for this very reason, I believe, and am abundantly convinced, that our predecessors had much more of the true faith, and had much clearer views of the meaning and standing of the Scriptures, as well as of the true divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and the purposes of his sufferings, than other professors of that day, who were making a high profession of their faith in them, but many of whom were wanting in spiritual and vital religion." Letters to a Friend, &c. by John Wilbur, p. 26.

Note HH.—Page 282.

However clear such doctrines may appear to many readers, the Author cannot entirely quit the subject, without still further confirming it, as the doctrine of the Society of Friends, and even of "the Established Church of England," by adducing the following quotation from the writings of a learned man, who had once been a rector among the latter religious class, but ultimately became a valued minister among the former.

"We say, then, according to the Scriptures, That Christ

died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again, 2 Cor. v. 15,—that without faith it is impossible to please God, Heb. xi. 6.—that without repentance the sinner shall perish, see Luke, xiii. 3, 5,—and without holiness no man shall see the Lord, Heb. xii. 14. And, (in the words of Archbishop Tillotson in his Sermon 4th, Concerning the Incarnation of our blessed Saviour, on John, i. 14,) we add, that, 'The salvation which the Son of God hath purchased for us, and which he offers to us by the gospel, is not to be accomplished and brought about any other way, than by forsaking our sins and reforming our lives. The grace of God, which hath appeared to all men, and brings salvation, will not make us partakers of it in any other way, or by any other means, than by teaching us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in the present world. God sent his Son to bless us, by turning us away every one from his iniquities; and unless this change be effectually wrought in us, we are utterly incapable of all the blessings of the gospel of Christ. All that he hath done for us, without us, will avail us nothing, unless we be inwardly transformed, and renewed in the spirit of our minds, unless we become new creatures, unless we make it the continual and sincere endeavour of our lives to keep the commandments of God.'—

"'The obedience and sufferings of our blessed Saviour,' continues the Archbishop, 'are indeed accounted to us for righteousness, and will most certainly redound to our unspeakable benefit upon the performance of the condition which the gospel doth require on our part, namely, that every man that names the name of Christ, depart from iniquity. And the grace of God's Holy Spirit, is ready to enable us to perform this condition, if we earnestly ask it, and do sincerely co-operate with it; provided we do what we can on our part, God will not be wanting on his. But if we receive the grace of God in vain, and take no care to perform the condition, and neglect to implore the grace and assistance of God's Holy Spirit to that purpose, we have none to blame but ourselves; because it is then our

own fault, if we fall short of that happiness which Christ hath purchased and promised to us, upon such easy and reasonable conditions as the gospel proposeth.'"—The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge. 1726. p. 453.

THE END.

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